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THE WITNESS OF THE CHURCHES OF THE CONGREGATIONAL ORDER

I. BELIEFS AND PRACTICES SUMMARIZED

By ROBERT A. ASHWORTH

WHAT contribution can congregationalism, as contrasted with episcopatism or presbyterianism, make to the ecumenical movement? To what degree are the churches of the congregational order in sympathy with the achievements and the trends, as they thus far appear, of the movement toward Christian union embodied in the World Conferences on Faith and Order?

The questions are pertinent at this time because of widely expressed dissatisfaction with the meagerness of attention given to congregational views both at the Lausanne and the Edinburgh Conferences, and the equal dissatisfaction over the incompleteness with which congregational beliefs and practices were there presented for consideration. It is affirmed, and believed by many, that the contributions which churches of the congregational order are competent to make to the Christian union movement have not yet been adequately set forth, and that, both for their own sakes and in the interest of Christian union, an early attempt should be made to do so.

It is this conviction that prompted the writing of the series of papers upon the beliefs and practices of churches of the congregational order which this and its companion articles attempt to coordinate and summarize.* Without any official authorization or designation on the part

**The Faith and Its Creedal Formulation*: Matthew Spinka, Clarence M. Gallup, C. E. Lemmon; *The Church*: Elijah A. Hanley, Roland H. Bainton, F. D. Kershner; *The Sacraments*: Finis S. Idleman, N. L. Tibbetts, Gaius Glenn Atkins; *The Ministry and the Priesthood of All Believers*: E. A. Goldsworthy, Raymond Calkins, W. E. Garrison; *Polity in the Light of Christian Democracy*: R. H. Potter, F. D. Burnham, Charles H. Sears. (Published under the title, *The Witness of the Churches of the Congregational Order*, edited by Harlan Paul Douglass. CHRISTENDOM, paper 35 cents.)

of the denominations to which they belong, interested members of the three larger congregational bodies in the United States, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and Congregational-Christians, have met on several occasions since the Edinburgh Conference to discuss these issues together. As a result of these informal conferences, it was decided to concentrate upon five themes which engaged the attention of the World Conferences on Faith and Order—the Church, the Creeds, the Sacraments, the Ministry, and Church Polity, and to invite five competent writers in each denomination to prepare papers upon them, from the point of view of denominations to which they respectively belonged. These papers were to be the subjects of discussion at later conferences. Thus there were prepared three presentations of each of the five themes, written in each instance by an author from each of the three Christian bodies above mentioned. A writer from each denomination was then designated to synthesize these papers and to present the main issues in their relation to the ecumenical movement. The writer of this paper represents a Baptist point of view.

I

It is not surprising that the congregational bodies have not made their influence more deeply felt, thus far, in ecumenical councils.

From the beginning the Faith and Order movement has exhaled a distinctly Episcopal and Anglican fragrance, which is not strange in view of the stem from which it originally budded. To change the figure, at the start the Episcopalians paid the Faith and Order piper, and naturally they called the tune. And the theme song which Faith and Order sang at the first, it has been singing with little modification since.

In other words, the points which the Faith and Order conferences have discussed have been those, as the Chicago-Lambeth proposals foreshadowed, which Anglicans stress as pivotal for Christian union. Some of them have not carried in the minds of congregational bodies—owing to their particular genius and history—as much weight as they possessed in the Anglican mind; and in discussing them, at the invitation of the Anglicans, the congregationalists were entering a field not entirely familiar and in which they did not feel completely at home.

This is not said in criticism of the choice of themes, because they are important and, indeed, fundamental; but to explain, in part, why

the delegates from the congregational bodies at these conferences, have not been more vocal in the discussion of them.

In the churchly mind questions of precision of belief and validity of ecclesiastical organization bulk more largely than in the congregational mind, which stresses rather the primary importance of an individual Christian experience and is less concerned with creedal formulas and forms of polity. Moreover, churches more immediately under the influence of a Catholic tradition have felt more acutely the necessity of unity as of the very essence of the church than have the churches which owe their origin to a protest against the standing order and which at the start willingly accepted the designation "separatist." To the "come ye out and be ye separate" psychology the desire for unity is the product of reflection. Some of the congregational fellowship, particularly among Baptists, have not yet seen the need for it.

At the outset of any endeavor to summarize these papers on major Christian doctrines, it should be said that no statement could have been written on any one of them that would have been equally acceptable to all factions of the denomination it is attempting to interpret. Moreover, many of the doctrinal differences that distinguish one denomination from another are to be found within the constituency of each denomination. There are groups within each denomination which differ hardly at all from groups within the other two. On the other hand, there are groups in each of the denominations that hold so firmly to that which is most distinctive in their own spiritual inheritance that the element of difference is very conspicuous.

This is in utter contrast to Roman Catholicism or to the Catholic attitude and mind in whatever communion they are to be found. Protestantism in general and churches of the congregational order in particular know nothing of those tight little bundles of belief and practice, so neatly put together with no rough edges showing, which are characteristic of Catholicism. In contrast, the doctrinal belief of Protestantism seems only loosely put together. Shortly after establishing the First Baptist Church of Providence, Roger Williams, typical Protestant, withdrew from its membership, on the ground that he felt more at home among the Seekers. There is a sense in which all Protestants remain "seekers" and make no claim to have reached finality in their search. They expect more truth continually to break out of God's Word.

On questions of faith and morals all members of the Roman Catholic Church are expected to hold identical beliefs. The nature of these are determined authoritatively by the Church, regarded as the infallible exponent and guardian of truth. Variation is suspect and the subject of discipline.

The congregational bodies under discussion, on the other hand, proclaim the Reformation principle of the right of private interpretation and their members are permitted and expected to exercise it. This allows very wide divergences of belief within their respective constituencies. There is without a doubt a limit to the degree of divergence that can be endured without breaking fellowship but that limit has never been strictly defined.

II

The Church. The crux of the question of Christian unity lies in the doctrine of the church. Two distinct conceptions of the church prevail within Christendom and they have, perhaps, never been more clearly distinguished than by Ernst Troeltsch in *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Writing of what he calls the "two great classic types of social doctrine," which he designates the "church type" and the "sect type," he remarks: "In each instance the nature of the Christian fellowship itself is conceived from a different point of view; in the first instance it is conceived as an institution not dependent on individualism, possessing a *depositum* of absolute truths and wonderful civilizing sacramental powers; in the second instance, it is conceived as a society whose life is constantly renewed by the deliberate allegiance and personal work of its individual members." If the word could be divested of its invidious implications, the churches of the congregational polity would be quite willing, under that definition, to be classified as belonging to the "sect" type, though they would prefer the term, "Free Churches." That is to say, the church, as they understand it, is a "gathered" church. They conceive the church not as the nation on its knees, or the community in its religious mood, with the diversity within its membership which that conception involves, but rather as a people "called out," a company of those who are consciously redeemed and thus set over against the community as separate.

A distinction among the churches that are under review should, perhaps, be noted here, though it does not appear to involve a signifi-

cant difference. Congregational-Christians, who retain the practice of infant baptism, regard baptized infants as members of the church in a sense somewhat other than do Baptists and Disciples who restrict baptism to believers only. But the difference appears to be more formal than real. The practice of the dedication of children is extending among both Disciples and Baptists, and where this does not obtain there is complete recognition of the duty of the church to the children of believers to provide for their nurture and religious education. On the other hand, among the Congregational-Christian churches, baptism is not regarded as necessary to salvation and the baptism of infants means little more than their dedication to the Christian way of life.

Within the doctrine of the church which is common to the churches of a congregational polity, abundant room is left for a mystical conception of the church as the body of Christ. Into that doctrine the individual member of the church can pour all the spiritual devotion and fervor of which his nature is capable.

The place of the church in the thought of the Christian depends ultimately upon his convictions as to the manner in which the grace of God comes into a human life. It is principally at that point that Christians divide; and, if they could agree there, other hindrances to Christian union would resolve themselves. The congregationally organized bodies hold to the spiritual autonomy of the individual soul; that is, they believe that every man has the right and the ability to seek and to find God for himself without the intervention of priest, institution, or rite. The Christian has immediate access to God through Christ who is the sufficient and only mediator. This rules out the doctrine that outside the church there is no salvation. No institution is necessary in that sense to bring God and man together. The church is the company of the redeemed and its function is that of nurturing the spiritual life and of inspiring, coordinating and directing its activities.

The doctrine of the church, also, is profoundly affected by attitudes toward the history of the church through the centuries, that is, toward tradition. Baptists, Disciples and Congregational-Christians are heirs of an effort to recapture the simplicity of New Testament Christianity. Their watchword has been, "Back to the New Testament." They would not say that God's guidance of his church ceased at the end of the New Testament era, but they believe that much of the subsequent

development of the church has been a perversion, rather than an extension, of New Testament principles and that tradition is not authoritative for the church today.

There are differences in the degree in which tradition is rejected by the churches of the congregational order. The Disciples appear to repudiate it utterly when they declare, "Where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Baptists and Congregationalists would, perhaps, agree in accepting so much of Christian historic tradition as is not contrary to the New Testament. All agree in recognizing the Scriptures as the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice.

III

Creed. It was the prevailing conviction both at Lausanne and at Edinburgh that a creedal basis is essential to Christian union and the creeds proposed were the Apostle's and the Nicene. This presents peculiar difficulty to the church bodies which we are considering, more, perhaps, to the Baptists and the Disciples than to the Congregationalists.

The Congregationalists are not averse to the recital of the historic creeds and it is common among them to incorporate them in their services of worship. This is not the case with Baptists or Disciples. To the Disciples all formal creeds appear to be positively divisive and are to be eschewed. While Baptists have no aversion to them, they regard them as an unnecessary encumbrance. They believe that it is easier to understand the teaching of the New Testament than the creeds which profess to explicate it, and that truth is its own best defense and needs no human formula to safeguard it. Thus while Congregationalists use creeds but do not apply them as a test of orthodoxy, Baptists are non-creedal and Disciples are anti-creedal. The three congregational bodies would agree in requiring no creedal affirmation as a requisite for church membership other than a profession of personal faith in Jesus Christ as the revelation of God and the Saviour of men.

While, as we have said, Disciples are anti-creedal, both Baptists and Congregationalists during their history have promulgated many creeds and some of them have been widely used and accepted. But in neither instance have they been regarded as authoritative over the individual conscience or employed as conditions of fellowship. They have been rather confessions of faith, formulated to set forth the beliefs of their

group for the information of those outside their immediate fellowship. Moreover, as the years have progressed and knowledge has grown or current interests or emphases have altered, the phraseology of the confessions has kept pace with such changes and creedal formulas have maintained their contemporary quality. Neither Baptists nor Congregationalists have shown any inclination to stereotype their beliefs in the philosophical terms of a past generation.

Nevertheless, it may be affirmed that, without authoritative creeds, Disciples, Congregationalists and Baptists have been and are as orthodox as the creedal churches. This may be, as is often claimed, because they have been surrounded by Christian bodies that are steadied and safeguarded by creedal bulwarks and that by these they have been held true to the faith once delivered, but they do not think this to be the case. They believe that the charter of the New Testament is sufficient and that they need no other guide.

IV

Sacraments. On the subject of the sacraments the congregational bodies occupy much common ground. Baptists and Disciples, rejecting what they think to be the implications of the term "sacrament," employ the term "ordinance." Congregational-Christians, similarly excluding sacramentarianism, retain the word sacrament in accordance with the common usage.

All agree in accepting baptism and the Lord's Supper and these alone, as observances to be perpetuated in the church. As to whether they were instituted by our Lord or intended by him to be continuously observed by his followers, there are differences of judgment within each of the denominations; but all would agree that they were established practices of the primitive church and upon the spiritual values that they contain and mediate for the church today. Each rejects, moreover, all *ex opere operato* theories of the sacraments, and every suggestion of their magical efficacy to confer spiritual benefit apart from the faith of the recipient.

The Lord's Supper, they would agree, is a memorial, setting forth in symbol and calling to memory our Lord's sacrificial death, summoning his disciples to renewed devotion and service, and visibly embodying the ideal of unity and fellowship that should prevail among them.

Around a table of communion, rather than an altar, the life of the

Christian church should center and from the observance of the Lord's Supper may flow spiritual enrichment of incalculable and as yet largely unexplored depth, which may be appropriated in proportion to the faith of those who gather there.

The major difference among the congregational bodies with respect to the sacraments clearly has to do with baptism. For Disciples and Baptists the mode of baptism is immersion and the subjects of baptism are believers. Congregationalists, while administering immersion when the adult candidate desires it, normally employ the mode of sprinkling and practice the baptism of infants. Without a doubt, this difference is a stubborn obstacle to complete fellowship or union.

This insistence of Baptists and Disciples that only immersion is baptism should not be interpreted to mean that either body believes that baptism is essential to or conveys salvation. Disciples stress baptism as a command of our Lord and necessary to complete obedience but they emphatically repudiate the implication sometimes made that they believe in baptismal regeneration. That neither Disciples nor Baptists believe that baptism by immersion is a saving ordinance is indicated by the fact that there are, in each of these communions, many churches that receive into their membership without rebaptism members from other churches who have been baptized in infancy or, on confession of faith, converts who have not been baptized at all, and that such churches nevertheless remain, for the most part, in full fellowship with the communions with which they are affiliated. Such churches pursue this course in the conviction that baptism is a matter that concerns the relationship of the believer to his Lord, and not his relationship to the church, and therefore should be left to the individual conscience. As a matter of fact, few Christian bodies hold so "low" a doctrine of baptism as do Disciples and Baptists.

Nor should this practice of immersion as the mode of baptism be interpreted as due to a merely slavish and literal obedience to Scriptural requirements. These communions continue the New Testament practice because they value the New Testament experience that the mode of baptism was intended to portray and to impress upon the mind of the believer. To follow Christ, as set forth by Paul, means to die to one's self, to be buried with Christ, and to rise a new man in him. As this is the beginning, continuation and completion of the Christian life, Baptists and Disciples believe that it is altogether fitting and desirable that this truth should be symbolically declared in bap-

tism. These Christian bodies maintain the form because they value the substance, and would keep it ever before the consciousness of the church and of the Christian. Similarly they reject infant baptism not merely because it has no warrant in Scripture, but because it is impossible to divest it of implications that obscure the fundamental truths that the obligations of the Christian life must be voluntarily assumed by the individual and that no physical ordinance, whatsoever, is essential to salvation.

It is the conviction of both Disciples and Baptists that the doctrine of baptism, its mode, subjects and meaning, upon which they hold such firm convictions, deserves more extended, thoughtful and sympathetic consideration than was accorded to it either at Lausanne or Edinburgh. At both World Conferences on Faith and Order much discussion was devoted, in the sections on the Sacraments, to the Lord's Supper and little to baptism. There are Christian bodies to which certain doctrines with respect to Holy Communion are matters of conscience and of critical importance to the question of Christian union and it is proper that such matters should have all the attention that has thus far been paid to them. But there are Christian bodies, such as those of Baptists and Disciples, to which doctrines with respect to Christian baptism are equally matters of conscience and of equally critical importance to the question of union and these should be given equal attention and consideration if we are to expect the interest of such communions to be deeply engaged in the Christian union movement.

V

The Ministry. Of the doctrine of the ministry held by the churches of the congregational order it is perhaps sufficient to say that it is based upon a belief in the universal priesthood of believers. Since these churches hold, on the one hand, that every believer may have direct access to God without any human mediation, and, on the other, that the Lord's Supper is primarily a memorial symbol, and not the Mass with its repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, and that the spiritual life is sustained by the ministry of the Word of God, their ministers are not priests but, rather, prophets. According to their general view, it is obvious that no special order of the ministry with priestly functions is necessary to introduce man to God or God to man, or to give validity to religious rites.

Whatever form of ordination to the ministry is used, it is not conceived as endowing its subject with any spiritual graces, gifts or authority which he did not possess before. The dogma of an apostolic succession, associated with the Historic Episcopate appears to the congregational churches to have implications that are historically doubtful, philosophically untenable and theologically unsound. All endowment for the work of the ministry must come directly, without human mediation, from the God who calls men into it.

VI

Polity. The congregational polity is based upon the autonomy of the local church. There is no superior body that can legislate for the local church. Relying only upon the guidance of the Spirit of God, each church elects its own officers, formulates its own program, administers its own discipline and formulates its own faith.

The churches come together for mutual counsel and cooperative activities in organizations variously named, but in each instance the local church is the unit, and in no case is the autonomy of the local church impaired. No combination of churches can do more than counsel. Such unity as the congregational bodies have is that of a federation of independent democracies.

This loose sort of fellowship, appears to function with a fair degree of success. As a matter of fact, this voluntary principle, under which no commands can be issued, seems to work as well as the more rigid and closely integrated forms of church order. The congregationally organized churches believe that democracy can be as efficient as dictatorship or oligarchy. In addition their polity offers liberty, and they like it, and they would be reluctant, to say the least, to abandon it. Since it is, as they believe, a Scriptural plan, they wonder that it is not more seriously considered as a basis for the Christian unity that is being so eagerly sought—unity on a voluntary basis, with complete liberty for the constituent units.

The congregational churches would not now, however, whatever may have been the case in the past, claim for their polity exclusive New Testament precedence or authority. They recognize that both the presbyterian and the episcopal polities may find warrant in Scripture.

Now that competent scholarship is agreed that the roots of all three existing polities are to be found in the New Testament, it is time that

all the churches should face squarely the logic of that conclusion. The form of organization and government of no existing Christian body is divinely determined. Each is the product of human experience and expedience. No form of polity, therefore, is of the *esse* of the church. Each communion has hitherto accepted the limitations that its form of polity involved on the belief that they were divinely imposed, and that it had no other recourse. Now we should see that even as all polities are the result of efforts to meet the spiritual needs of the particular times and areas in which they were devised, we are as free to-day as were the fathers in their day to adjust and adapt our forms of church government and procedure to the necessities of the difficult and critical times in which we live. If unity is the will of our common Lord for his followers, they must find or make a way to achieve it.

The problems that have been raised by this discussion of the differences of doctrine among the congregational churches, and the more obstinate difficulties in the background that are presented by the differences between these three churches of the congregational order and their sister churches of quite different polities and spiritual backgrounds, the present writer is not competent to solve. But he is confident that when unity is desired deeply enough, and when the tide of spiritual devotion to the Lord of all Christians comes to the flood, a way to unity can and will be found. There are some metals that cannot be fused except with great heat. In proportion as the spiritual temperature rises the scattered churches will lose the rigidity of their stereotyped formulas and practices, and melt and flow together.

II. CAN THESE THREE BE ONE?

By CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON

TWO questions are put to the three "synthesizing" writers in this tri-denominational exchange of views. First: on the basis of the fifteen papers contributed by representatives of the Baptist, Congregational and Disciples denominations, is there any reason (assuming that the will is present) why these three bodies of Christians should not be one body? Second: on the basis of these same papers is it possible for these three bodies representing the congregational type of faith and order to unite with other non-Roman churches which represent in varying degrees a more catholic type of ecclesiastical order?*

These are two distinct questions, and should be treated

separately. By "union" and "unity," I mean an organic ecclesiastical merger. The possibility of federal union is taken for granted. Federal union does not involve ecclesiastical union. It leaves the co-operating denominations precisely where they are, as separate and autonomous ecclesiastical bodies. Northern Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples are already members of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and have voted to become members of the World Council of Churches.

The net impression which has been made upon my mind by a careful reading—twice over—of these fifteen papers may be stated at the outset in the form of a direct answer to the two questions indicated above. (1) There exist no substantial or vital differences of faith or belief or practice or ecclesiastical structure among these three bodies which justify their separate existence if they really desire to be one body. (2) Their congregational ideology, if it is maintained in its present and historic form, is an insuperable barrier to their union with churches representing any other type of organization and ideology. I can see only one way by which this barrier may be surmounted. That is by the fundamental revision of the congregational apologetic. Such a revision might begin with the discovery that the actual practice of congregational denominations is not congregational, and never has been, and that the actual practice of other denominations is not *necessarily* opposed to the true values in congregational theory. Starting with this discovery as a controlling insight, it is conceivable that the two types of ecclesiastical ideology could be reconciled so as to conform with actual reality. I shall not be able in this article to discuss the second question at all.

Limiting the discussion, then, to the first question, my first impression is that, except in the matter of baptism, whatever differences exist between these denominations, exist also within each of them. (As we shall see when we come to the baptism problem, the congregational principle itself suggests a solution.) If each one can maintain its own unity with such diversity, there is obviously no reason why they could not live together in a larger unity which presents no greater diversity. I can imagine then only one kind of apologetic for the continued separation of Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples. That

*In this article I shall consistently reserve the capital "C" for the Congregational and Roman Catholic churches, using the small "c" for the two generic principles of congregationalism and catholicity which these churches, respectively, share with others beside themselves.

would be an apologetic which frankly affirms that the permanent existence of the sectarian order fully reflects the mind of Christ with respect to the nature of his church.

I

Theory of the Church. Historically, these three denominations originated, as denominations, in a specific conception of the church. The congregational kind of church, common to Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples, began in a revolt against the established Church of England. It was not motivated by theological but by ecclesiological dissent, as indeed the whole Protestant Reformation had been motivated. The dissenters were those who despaired of making the Reformation effective in the existing church, which, to their mind, was only a survival of the Roman Catholic apostate church. Their right and duty to "come out" and initiate their reform "without tarrying for any," was sanctioned in their consciences by a new conception of the church which they derived from the New Testament. The true church, they said, which Christ founded, is not this overarching and all-pervasive institution which imposes its authority upon all Christians and all communities of Christians. The true church really exists in these local communities of Christians. It was so, they argued, in New Testament times. The early confessions—Savoy (Congregational) 1658, and London (Baptist) 1677—followed Westminster (1647), in theology, but departed from it in the doctrine of the church. The concept of a church catholic either passed into the vague concept of a "church invisible" or vanished altogether. The church is the local congregation. There is no other empirical church. Congregationalists and Baptists were alike thoroughgoing in this. Dr. Hanley quotes from the London confession: "To each of these [local] churches He [Christ] hath given all that power and authority which is in any way needful" for worship, discipline and the election of officers. "Thus," Dr. Hanley adds, "all supra-ecclesiastical authority of pope, bishop or presbyter is rejected."

The separation of Baptists from their fellow dissenters came on the question of baptism. Here again the new doctrine of the church was determinative. The issue did not arise so much over the form of baptism as over the proper subject of baptism. Baptist dissenters stood for what the Anabaptists had called a "regenerate" church—that is, a church whose membership is composed of regenerate persons. Re-

generation implies faith and repentance. This ruled out the baptism of infants. Afterward, baptism by immersion became the exclusive practice on alleged New Testament grounds.

Likewise, this principle of congregationalism is the fundamental postulate of the Disciples of Christ. Yet the primary prompting of their movement was not congregational. Thomas Campbell's initial insight was stated in his dictum: "The church of Christ on earth is essentially, intentionally and constitutionally one." This, of course, is anything but the voice of congregationalism. Campbell was a Presbyterian at the time, and his utterance is the voice of the more catholic view of the church which prevails in Presbyterianism. It was during their twenty-year sojourn with the Baptists that he and his son Alexander and their followers became convinced congregationalists. Finally breaking with the Baptists, they carried Baptist congregationalism with them. By this view of the church, they overcame their earlier scruples against forming a new denomination. The "church on earth" whose catholic unity the Campbells at first shrank from breaking, could not now be broken, because it had no empirical existence. Their concept of unity was thus shifted from the catholic basis of "the church on earth" which was already "essentially, intentionally and constitutionally one," to the pattern church of the New Testament which was purely congregational. Unity was thus subordinated to conformity with this New Testament pattern, and flowed from it. They went forth, therefore, in good conscience, to establish such churches.

Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples are thus in complete agreement in their conception of the church. The empirical church exists in the local unit, and nowhere else. It is a "gathered church"—an appellation derived from Christ's saying about "two or three gathered together." The church is a local association of individual Christians organized on the pattern divinely ordered and communicated in the New Testament. It is not something given; it is something made. It is *built up* from preexisting elements, namely, individual Christians. These three bodies do not think of their churches as the local expression of a historical and ecumenical church which exists in and functions through them. They think in the reverse direction. Just as the local church is constituted by the *association* of individual Christians, so the church catholic (in so far as such a concept enters their thinking at all) consists of the totality, not of the churches, as such, but of all individual Christians.

The church catholic, however, has been little more than a dim concept, hardly used except in an uncritical recitation of the creed, and this in Congregational churches only. (The Apostles creed is rarely, if ever, used in Baptist and Disciples churches.) Because attention has been concentrated upon the local congregation as the true church, little occasion has arisen to define carefully the concept of the church catholic. Shades of difference therefore obtain both within each of these denominations and between them. But on the one point that is vital here, they are agreed, namely, that whatever form of existence the church catholic may have, *it must not organize itself as a church*. It has no right in Scripture to do so. The only body that is entitled to organize itself as a church is the local congregation. All the authorized ecclesiastical order there is, is contained in this self-sufficient, autonomous unit.

I am describing congregational theory, not practice. Near the beginning of this article, it was asserted that these bodies do not practice their theory. I do not think it can be practiced. But it is their theory, and it is this *theory*, in contrast with their practice, which presents the problem of their inclusion in an ecumenical union. By the same token, however, their united insistence upon a common theory, together with the virtually equal disparity between theory and practice in all three bodies, presents fundamental ground for unity among themselves. The task of uniting these three denominations is thus greatly simplified. According to congregational theory, the New Testament neither provides for nor envisages any connectional relationship of churches. If any such relationship is set up, it can only be a human contrivance designed for practical purposes. A local church may not surrender any part of its divinely bestowed autonomy to any connectional order. Union, therefore, becomes merely an enterprise of merging or reconstructing the human contrivances (denominational machinery) by which these free churches now exist as three separate denominations.

II

Sacraments: The Eucharist. In common with Protestantism in general, Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples observe two sacraments or ordinances—the Eucharist and baptism. On the Eucharist, there is no detectible shade of difference in theory or in the manner of its celebration, save that the Disciples observe the sacrament weekly. It

is conceived simply as a memorial, a feast of remembrance of the death of the Lord Jesus. There is no tolerance of the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. The bread and wine are symbols, and the partaking of these elements is a symbolic act, signifying the participation of the individual Christian in the redeeming sacrifice which Christ once for all made for man.

This symbolism is expounded by all three writers on the Eucharist. Dr. Tibbetts dwells upon the psychological and pragmatic necessity of such symbolism. The real meaning of the sacraments, he says, is found in "what they do for the worshipper." Dr. Idleman deals with the subject with a somewhat more mystical touch, showing how in the Eucharist the sacramental nature of the universe comes to focus. In this he is joined by Dr. Atkins, who points to "an increased sensitiveness to the thought of matter and its forms as vehicles for spiritual reality." This has "tended to give the Congregational inherited interpretation of the communion a wider range and has heightened the mystical element in it." My conclusion is that the traditional regard for the Eucharist is identical in the three groups. Any tendency toward an enrichment of theory and practice in respect of this sacrament moves in essentially the same direction and is of about equal extent among all three, and would therefore present no greater barrier to union than to the continued harmony of each denomination existing by itself.

It is gratifying to miss any serious discussion of "close" or restricted communion in these papers. Dr. Tibbetts, representing the Baptists, does not even mention it. Dr. Sears, in his paper on "Polity," makes it clear that among Northern Baptists, at least, this barrier to unity has altogether disappeared. Both Congregationalists and Disciples practice open communion. No doubt, if the scope of the union contemplated were enlarged to include the Southern Baptists, the issue would arise as a formidable one; but even in that case, its solution on the basis of congregational autonomy would still be possible.

Baptism. In a contemplated union of Baptists, Disciples and Congregationalists, the crucial issue in regard to the sacraments centers in the practice of baptism. Here there is divergence in the mode of its administration and as to the person who may properly receive it. All the writers deny the regenerative efficacy of the baptismal act. Baptism falls into the category of symbolism alongside the Eucharist. But Baptists and Disciples administer baptism only by immersion. Congre-

gationalists generally administer it by affusion, though without prejudice to immersion which is practiced when the candidate strongly desires it. Baptists and Disciples baptize only adults, while Congregationalists include infants as proper subjects of this sacrament. Do these divergences present insuperable barriers to union? We must examine this matter carefully.

The Baptist and Disciple writers agree that in their respective denominations there is a diminishing consciousness as to the relative importance of their traditional insistence upon immersion. Not only as to its importance, but as to the validity of the traditional arguments in support of it. Both textual and historical criticism, they point out, have undermined the dogma of New Testament authority for the exclusive practice of immersion as a command of Christ. The historic fact that baptism was practiced by immersion in the early church is not denied by these writers. But the inference from this fact, namely, that immersion was practiced because it was specifically commanded by Christ, and therefore is bound upon his church for all time as an act of obedience to him, is held to be either not proved or positively incredible.

The verdict of scholarship on this subject is reflected in the changing practice of the churches, both Baptist and Disciple. This change does not consist in abrogation of the practice of baptism by immersion, but in the rapidly growing practice of receiving by transfer from other churches, without rebaptism, those who were baptized otherwise than by immersion. Among Baptists, this is called "open membership," answering to the well-nigh universal practice of "open communion." Among Disciples, the same nomenclature is used, but their more interpretative designation is that of "practicing Christian union."

In both denominations, this generous and more fraternal procedure rests upon three *facts* which are far more indubitable than any exegetical inference from Scripture texts. These are: (1) that such unimmersed members of other churches are Christians, as fully so as Baptists and Disciples themselves; (2) that the churches from which they come (Congregational, Presbyterian and the rest) are churches of Christ, as truly as are Baptist and Disciples churches; and (3) that such persons must therefore have been baptized, as truly as if they had been baptized by immersion. These three facts hang absolutely together: no one of them can be denied without denying the

other two. To deny them, one is forced into the position of claiming that the churches of his denomination (including, perhaps, others like it) constitute the only true churches of Christ—an arrogant and preposterous claim which neither Baptists nor Disciples have the slightest disposition to make.

The effect of facing these indubitable facts is to throw both denominations back to a re-examination of the New Testament. With two results: (1) those who are competent to re-read the New Testament in the light of historical and textual knowledge find that the dogma of immersion-baptism is completely dissolved; (2) those who continue to see immersion in the New Testament as a specific command of Christ, are compelled to reconcile their obedience to that command with the three facts which are, to say the least, just as indubitable and inescapable as their exegesis of the New Testament. Can their churches obey what they regard as Christ's command without denying, by their practice, the full Christian status and character of other Christians and other churches? Open membership is their answer. Such churches practice immersion only, but they receive into their membership other Christians without rebaptism, on the ground of their acknowledged status as Christians and the acknowledged status of the churches from which they come as true churches of Christ.

It is this movement among Baptists and Disciples which offers a solution of the problem of baptism in connection with their contemplated union with Congregationalists. No union is even conceivable if it is predicated on the assumption that Congregationalists must be rebaptized. Nor, on the other hand, is union conceivable on the assumption that large sections of Baptists and Disciples must sacrifice their conscientious convictions. Both of these assumptions are, however, reconciled by the "practice of Christian union," or open membership. Congregationalists already receive Baptists and Disciples. Under open membership, Baptists and Disciples, with equal Christian fraternity and without any reservation, receive Congregationalists.

The possibility of this full fraternization is facilitated in the case of these three denominations because of their common congregationalism. The principle of the autonomy of each local church allows for divergent practices. There is no reason why local congregations, some practicing baptism by affusion, others practicing immersion only, should not be united in full ecclesiastical solidarity—*provided* all recognize the full Christian status of the others and freely receive one

another's members without rebaptism. The practice of rebaptism is the ultimate sectarianism. It is more sectarian than the practice of reordination or close communion. The fact that the practice of open membership, now well established in many Baptist and Disciples local churches, does not impair the fellowship within these denominations, is proof that, in a larger unity including the Congregationalists, the same principle of local autonomy would solve the immersion problem without sacrifice of either conscience or fellowship. If there is the will to unity, the way is open.

None of the papers discussed the question of infant baptism, beyond references to it in connection with the Baptist doctrine of a "regenerate church membership" and to the conception held by both Baptists and Disciples that it is "a perversion of the original meaning of the ordinance."

As a matter of fact, the attack of Baptists and Disciples on infant baptism has never been wholly fair. Pedobaptist churches have in reality divided baptism into two acts—the first they designate as "baptism," and the second "confirmation" or, in the case of the Congregationalists, "profession of faith." In pedobaptist churches, the baptismal act is really incomplete until it is consummated in adolescence or adulthood. Ignoring, now, those churches which affirm the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, it is only fair to recognize that, as between Protestant pedobaptist churches generally and those Baptist and Disciples churches which practice some form of dedication or christening, the difference is hardly more than a verbal one. In these pedobaptist churches, the first half of the total baptismal act is called "baptism." In these Baptist and Disciples churches, the second half of the total act is called "baptism." But the *thing done* in both halves of the act is essentially the same in both groups of churches. In the first, the child of believing parents is dedicated to God and ceremonially received as a member of the Christian community for whose spiritual upbringing the church acknowledges its responsibility together with the parents. In the second, the now grown child of the church takes upon himself the vows made in infancy by his parents, and on the profession of his personal faith is invested with the full status of church membership.

It is my belief that if the hard verbal legalism with which infant baptism has been both attacked and defended, is once cracked open by a functional analysis of what is actually done, the issue will totally

disappear. And with it will go the preposterous claim of Baptists and Disciples that the membership of their churches is a "regenerate" membership in some sense that distinguishes them from pedobaptist churches—a claim which their observation and their better instinct tell them is simply not true.

III

Creed. Turning from matters of ecclesiastical structure, function and sacrament, in which we have found essential agreement among the three groups, the next question is, What do Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples *believe*? Are there such conflicts or disparities of belief among them that union is impracticable? In my opinion, the approach to this question can be simplified and clarified if we recognize that the word "creed" really means three distinct things. It means (1) test of fellowship, (2) formalized and standardized belief, (3) general pattern of thought. When these three denominations are asked to state their several creeds, and to compare them, it is important to keep these distinctions clear and to compare them by categories. Otherwise, only confusion will result.

(1) *Creed as test of fellowship.* What must one believe in order to become a member of a Baptist, a Congregational or a Disciples church? The answer made by all three denominations is strikingly identical. No one of them exacts the acceptance of either a formulated standard or a general body of doctrines. The creedal test of fellowship is presented as a combination of *faith* and *belief*, with the heavier emphasis upon *faith*. Faith is stressed as personal trust in Jesus Christ. "The one essential thing required in Congregational churches as a condition of membership," says Dr. Spinka, "is faith in Christ as the supreme revelation of God and man." But the exact formulation of what this faith implies is "left to the Spirit's guidance."

This language would fully cover the cases of both Baptists and Disciples. The latter have traditionally asked for a confession of faith in the words of Peter's confession: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," or the Pentecostal words: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ." These words have been used by the Disciples without theological interpretation, but they have always been taken to mean *trust* in Christ as personal Savior, in addition to intellectual assent to his divinity, and to include repentance. Similarly, Dr. Gallup says: "All Baptists are agreed that a pure life and loyalty to Christ are of the

essence of regeneration." All three denominations mean the same thing in the terms which condition membership in their churches.

(2) *Creed as formalized and standardized belief.* Here again there is practical agreement. None of these denominations, *in present day practice*, sets forth its doctrinal position in an authoritative document—if for no other reason than that there is no body competent to draft such a creedal document and to impose it upon the churches, or even to declare authoritatively that it represents them.

Yet in the case of Baptists and Congregationalists it was not always so. Dr. Hanley and Dr. Spinka point out that in the case of their respective denominations, this attitude toward a standardized formulation of the creed has become increasingly explicit only in the past century. For two centuries, neither denomination was "squeamish" (Dr. Spinka's word) in the matter of standardizing its theological beliefs in a creedal document. Indeed they felt it necessary to do this. "Early Congregationalism," says Dr. Bainton, "had no objection whatever to creedal formulations, nor even to exclusion from fellowship in the case of those who could not subscribe to the fundamentals."

In the modern period, the tendency among both Baptists and Congregationalists has been either to dispense with standardized creeds altogether or to mitigate their "authority" by defining them as "testimonies," rather than as standards. Such "testimonies," moreover, as have appeared within the past century are much less theological, taking the form of a simple confession of the common faith of evangelical Christian experience.

The Disciples present a somewhat different history. From the beginning they were, as Dr. Lemmon says, aggressively "anti-creedal." Their movement, in one of its main aspects, was a revolt against "human creeds." The Disciples were determined to accept the "simple teaching of the New Testament" as all-sufficient both for their own faith and the practice of their churches, and especially for the unity of all Christians. Creeds were divisive and evil. They were the occasion of strife, division and sectarianism. The aggressive attack upon creeds which constituted a large ingredient of their early preaching has been tempered in our day, says Dr. Lemmon, by the fact that "creedal dogmas are being played down" in other churches. The important thing to recognize in this matter of the standardized creed, is that, whatever differences obtained in the past, the three denominations now entertain essentially identical convictions and follow the

same practice. It is doubtful that an attempt to formalize its belief by means of an official or authoritative creed, would meet with less resistance in one of these denominations than in either of the others.

(3) *Creed as a general pattern of thought.* The fact, however, that these three denominations erect no creedal test of membership other than personal faith in Christ and reject all formulations of belief as authoritatively binding, does not mean that they have no other beliefs! On the contrary, each denomination carries a well-defined body of beliefs. If these beliefs are not found in a formalized standard, they exist, nevertheless, in the form of a communal pattern to which the beliefs of all its members inevitably tend to be assimilated. This pattern is woven into the literature and tradition of each denomination, and is kept vivid by preaching and by appealing to it as motivation for missionary and evangelistic devotion and for the maintenance of denominational morale. It is not necessary to trace it in any detail. All the fifteen writers agree that their denominations exist within the general framework of the orthodox Protestant tradition. In this framework these three bodies already possess a common pattern of thought, which therefore presents no obstacle to their union.

In the narrower framework of each denomination, there is a pattern of thought which is distinctive. But we are discovering in this exchange of views that this distinctiveness is a *common* distinctiveness characterizing these three denominations as over against the rest of Protestantism. The warp and woof of this denominational pattern consists, among other things, of a certain view of the church, of polity, of the ministry, of the creed, of the sacraments. I have been expounding the thesis, on the basis of these fifteen papers, that the denominational pattern of mind which characterizes Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples is common to them all. If given a chance, each pattern could be superimposed upon each of the other two without distortion at any point and without leaving any vital thread or strand hanging loose over the edge. Whatever contribution these denominations may be able to make to Protestantism in general, no one of them has anything of importance to contribute to the other two! I am, of course, speaking only in ecclesiological and theological terms. That each has special gifts of the spirit and nuances of insight to contribute to a union of all three is, of course, true, and it is the major motivation of their quest for unity.

IV

In leaving this section on the creed, and bringing this article to its end, a word should be said on the advantage of keeping Christian thought in the form of a communal pattern as contrasted with its standardization in authoritatively formulated creeds. One advantage is that such a body of thought can receive into itself the new truth which is evermore breaking forth from God's Word, can correct its own faults, and can live more comfortably with variations from its own norm. In a word, it can undergo inevitable change in a more Christian manner than is possible when Christian thought has been given definitive formulation in authoritative standards.

This is evidenced by the history of the three denominations. The changes which they have undergone since their several beginnings are enormous. The changes which are now in process are profound. There is no space in which to be specific in respect to Baptists and Disciples. But Dr. Spinka directs attention to the fact that Congregationalism completely changed its "theological climate" during the past century. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century it was predominantly Calvinistic. The theology of Horace Bushnell was "the bridge between historic Calvinism and the faith of modern Congregationalism." This theological revolution was facilitated by "the right of private interpretation" upon which Baptists and Disciples insist no less than Congregationalists. When such changes occur (as they do) in denominations with fixed standards, the disparity between the standards and the living thought is the occasion of confusion, endless embarrassment, and no little intellectual hypocrisy. The truth of God cannot be bound. It flourishes in freedom. By entrusting their common beliefs to a living communal pattern rather than crystallizing them in a verbal formula, Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples keep the channels of knowledge open for the Holy Spirit to guide them into ever deeper understanding of the Christian revelation.

Another advantage which I will cite consists in the greater facility for union with other bodies. Having no authoritative standards which exercise a survival authority over them, Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples, conferring with one another about unity, are not bound to ask, What did our denominations once upon a time believe? Instead, they are free to ask, What do we believe now? Are the living patterns of our denominational convictions so peculiar and distinctive

that we could not live comfortably together, or are they so much alike that they present no real obstacle to union? After all, the problem of union concerns itself with contemporary reality, not with past history. We cannot unify the past. We can only hope to find unity in the living present. In the case of these three bodies, union need not wait upon the revision of ancient standards, or upon the present formulation of a common standard of belief. It waits only upon their conscious discovery of one another as being the same kind of Christians, maintaining the same kind of churches, and cherishing the same general pattern of beliefs.

[NOTE: For reasons of space I have had to omit the section which I had written on "Polity and the Ministry."]

III. CAN BASIC ATTITUDES BE "SYNTHESIZED"?

By DOUGLAS HORTON

TO PROLONG a discussion on the subject of church unity is surely to commit sin. I acknowledge my transgression in writing the paragraphs which follow, for I feel deeply that the time for mere discussion is drawing to an end and the day for action is dawning.

None the less, I have so profoundly enjoyed and so greatly profited by reading the papers on the basic attitudes of Baptists, Disciples and Congregationalists submitted by leaders of the three communions in an effort to arrive at better understanding between them, that I cannot forego the opportunity to express my appreciation of these papers and to register a hope that what has been begun so auspiciously without benefit of official sanction may be taken up officially.

I

It is clear beyond a peradventure that the three groups are of one mind as they face the developing ecumenical church. They are conscious of possessing a treasure which that church will surely require before its edifice is completed. They believe it, indeed, to be more than a treasure. It is such a necessity that the building cannot be finished without it. It is the keystone of an arch, the capstone of a wall.

As Dr. Charles H. Sears vividly points out, the principle of voluntarism on which these three churches are founded furnishes precisely

the pattern for which all bodies devoted to ecumenicity seem to be in search.

Historically it has been proved again and again that in every church there must be unity and in every church there must be freedom. Only two methods of wedding unity to freedom have ever been devised. We may call the one the non-congregational method: by it a church fosters its unity by the use of a certain symbol or set of symbols. One church may discover a strong and vital fellowship in the acceptance, on the part of its members, of the primacy of the Pope; another may establish the use of a certain prayer book as a mark of good standing among its members; while a third may make adherence to a particular system of doctrine the sign of its corporate unity. There need be no suggestion of mere formalism in such usages as these. The symbols point to realities which are accepted along with the symbols. But in non-congregational churches certain symbols are held in a fixed relationship to the realities they represent. The common use of them ensures unity.

In such churches freedom is secured by allowing more or less ample liberty in the interpretation of the symbol. Members of the Anglican Church in this country, for instance, though they use a common Prayer Book, by no means read that book through the same eyes. As the priest reads the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper, he unconsciously glosses it according to his own spiritual experience. If he be a "High Churchman," the service is to him full of connotations of transubstantiation. His "Low Church" brother, however, sensing overtones of pre-Christian paganism in such a conception, celebrates the service in a mood and with an understanding very much like that of a minister of a Lutheran or Reformed Church. The same set of symbols is used by each ministrant, but each enjoys freedom to interpret them as he will.

The congregational manner of balancing freedom and unity is quite different. The member of a church of this order discovers his fellowship with other members not by the use of any particular symbol or system of symbols, but in the spiritual reality to which all proper Christian symbols bear witness. The First Church of Boston uses its own covenant to declare its character as a church of the congregational order: the First Church of Salem quite another—but both are congregational churches in good standing, because the forms they use point to the same reality. Dr. Gallup's paper is especially illuminating

on this point. In early New England congregationalism that reality was often spoken of as the Lordship of Christ. In England, in the contest of the free churches with the government, "the crown rights of the Redeemer" were often alluded to, and the invisible but none the less actually felt presence of Christ in the Church was appealed to against the visible but less august presence of the king's magistrate at the door. These people, barring the out-and-out Separatists with whom the true congregationalists had in common only an abhorrence of the abuses of the Establishment, felt a deep-seated community with one another in the fact of Christ in their midst. Neither in England nor in New England—to cite a further illustration to which they themselves often referred—was it necessary for them to use prescribed prayers to ensure their sense of oneness: at their prayer meeting, though they used prayers of infinite variety, they knew themselves to be one because they prayed to the same God.

Their unity being centered in their common faith rather than in a common expression of that faith, they found their freedom in developing forms according to their several traditions and spiritual insights. They felt indeed a demand for creativity such as is never known by those whose basic forms are authoritatively designated. It is for this reason that men of prophetic temper have always felt at home in congregational environments: their utterance has not been inhibited by the necessity of being cast in given molds. The preachers, the theologians and the people in the pews are free to create their own forms of faith and practice provided only these forms point to the reality of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

II

When now we look toward the emergent ecumenical church and ask how it is to reconcile unity and freedom, what can one say of the non-congregational method of effecting this reconciliation? What symbol can be found which the Eastern Orthodox Churches on the one hand and the Meetings of the Society of Friends on the other will accept as a touchstone of church membership? One of the reasons that congregationalists are sometimes silent at ecumenical debates is because they feel it to be literally true that they have nothing to contribute to the discussion. When representatives of two militant non-congregational communions are struggling each to set forth a particular ecclesiastical form as the palladium of the church of the future,

there is only one course open to those who believe that the one form proposed is as good as the other—courteously to wait until the contestants adjourn their argument. In all humility it must be said that at ecumenical gatherings a congregationalist often feels like the man of legend on a South Sea island who came upon three shipwrecked sailors tearing each other's hair because one insisted that the right name of the fruit they were eating was *Trauben*, another that it was *raisins*, and the third that it was *grapes*. Congregationalists do not believe that any particular ecclesiastical language or any particular words of that language can ever be adopted by all parts of the church as exclusive standards. They feel that there can be nothing absolute about any particular form, but that the effectiveness, the value, the meaning of any form for any person must depend upon his own previous training.

If non-congregationalists could only be brought with congregationalists to believe that it is not necessary to discover unitary symbols in order to develop unity of church life, the ecumenical future would glow with hope; for then all branches of the church of Christ could achieve unity on the primary plane of common worship and co-operative service, each coming to understand and value the forms of all as the evolving decades gave opportunity. The great congregational fellowships have now enjoyed corporate existence, some of them, over three hundred years. They have gone on from strength to strength. What better argument could be adduced to prove that it simply is not necessary for communions to hold to particular forms in order to possess thorough-going and divinely blessed unity?

III

This thought leads on to the question as to whether it is actually true that the three communions under discussion do all hold to this definition of congregationalism, and so to the further question of what it is that distinguishes them from one another.

Perhaps I have too easily concluded from the papers I have been reading—witness, for instance, the clean-cut attitude of Dr. Hanley and Dr. Tibbetts, Dr. Garrison and Dr. Kerschner—and from the innumerable friends I cherish among the Baptists and Disciples, that the tenets I have been describing are accepted by the majority of the members of those communions. Perhaps I should not so inclusively have written congregationalists with a small "c." If Baptists in gen-

eral still regard immersion as being the *sine qua non* of entrance into the true church as Christ conceived it, or if Disciples in general believe similarly that the celebration of Holy Communion is called for on every Sunday without exception, I fear I have done them both wrong.

In order that there may be perfect understanding of the Congregational position, let me as an individual Congregationalist bear my testimony to the efficacy of the forms of the two chief ordinances of the church used in the two other communions.

Viewed simply as a symbol, it is surely an incontrovertible fact that immersion stimulates the imagination and excites the spirit to the importance and dignity of the act far more than the customary Congregational form of sprinkling. Could anything be conceived more appropriately dramatic than the burial with Christ under the surface of the water, all of one's past being sundered from him, so that even the air of the old life cannot be breathed—and then the rising up with Christ, washed in every part and inhaling the blessed atmosphere of a new existence, strong in a new purpose, dominated by a new will? It is understandable that the rite of sprinkling must seem to one who has symbolized his entrance into the church by immersion as a tender, embryonic, pitiful thing indeed.

Likewise, as I have grown older, though a Congregationalist, I have come to realize the wisdom with which Disciples and Catholics alike have insisted upon celebrating the rite of Holy Communion on the first day of every week without exception. In our sermons we talk of the day which shall come when humanity shall be united in the joy of Christian brotherhood, but what is talk compared to the actual sight of Christian partaking together of a common meal in a spirit of love toward God and toward each other? What more perfect earnest of the heavenly communion could there be? The Lord's Supper is to me what it is to Dr. Idleman, the sacrament of sacraments, for it imparts with the vividness which material things possess a refreshing sign not only of what God has already done for humanity in Christ but of what humanity will be like when once it appropriates his divine gift. It would not be too often for me to participate in the Lord's Supper every Sunday.

And yet, baptism and Holy Communion are only symbols, and as a Congregationalist I could not be contented in a church in which either one of these in any particular form was made a shibboleth of

membership in the Church of Christ. The attitude of Congregationalism is expressed once and for all in a writing of Henry Allon in the year 1876:

To us Congregationalism the best realizes the principles, sanctities, and powers of the spiritual life. But we do not therefore maintain that it is the only legitimate Ecclesiasticism for the world, and the only Ecclesiasticism in harmony with Scripture. If my brother on my right prefers Episcopacy, or if my brother on my left prefers a Presbytery, who am I, that I should forbid him? that I should assume to have discovered all the truth of God's word; that I should make my preferences the law of my brother's conscience? This only may I demand of him, that he do not permit his diversity of church life to damage our religious brotherhood, to alienate our Christian affections, to embarrass our Christian fellowship.

Congregationalists would find no difficulty in associating themselves with others who preferred immersion as the rite of entry into the Church, or weekly communion as the most satisfying kind of nourishment for the spiritual life, but they could not live in happy association with others who regarded the Congregational variety of practice at these points as a weakness.

It seems to me that Baptist, Disciple and Congregational thinkers are all converging upon the acceptance of something like the point of view of Henry Allon. Am I wrong, I wonder?

IV

If there is any fundamental—though not necessarily unalterable—difference between Congregationalism on the one hand and the theory and practice of the Baptists and Disciples on the other, it is probably in the matter of churchmanship.

Several of the non-Congregational writers in the symposium have privately expressed surprise that the Congregationalists have taken what seems to them such a "High Church" position; Spinka, Bainton, Atkins, Calkins, and Potter each in his own way paying tribute to the church as the divine society through which God purposes to save the world. The truth is, however, that almost all Congregationalists today are coming to have a high conception of the church.

On the human side the Congregationalist sees the church as a company of people who, under God, enjoy both liberty and law, their liberties being insured by law, their laws being established and supported in liberty. Sociologically these are the two salient characteristics of Congregationalism in relation both to itself and to the other branches of the church of Christ.

When it is its true self, Congregationalism neglects neither its freedom nor its fellowship. There have been times in its history, notably in the early days of New England, when it had not quite discovered its essential genius, in which freedom tended to go by the board, as Roger Williams would doubtless testify. There have been other times, as, for instance, during the last generation or so, when in certain areas individualism has flourished at the expense of fellowship; but neither rigid ecclesiasticism on the one hand nor atomic separatism on the other are congenial to Congregationalism, and a too wide swing in either direction seems always to correct itself. The early fathers united with all the other Protestants of the day in speaking of Rome as Antichrist because they believed that the hierarchy had robbed the people of their rights as individual Christians. On the other hand they had no desire to see the churches disrupted by *outré* individualism; and we read in Richard Baxter (I quote from Henry Martyn Dexter):

The Independent Party had many very godly Ministers and People, but with them many young injudicious Persons, inclined much to Novelties and Separations, and abounding more in Zeal than Knowledge; usually doing more for Subdivisions, than the few sober Persons among them could do for unity and Peace.

Congregationalism as a polity is neither individualism nor socialism: it is individualism balanced with socialism, a demand for freedom held in Christian tension with an equal demand for fellowship. The Congregationalist wants a church, albeit he wants a free church.

This coupling of freedom and fellowship explains the attitude of Congregationalism toward the larger church of Christ. Congregationalists are wholly committed to the ecumenical movement: they passionately desire to be related to the other branches of the church, but not in such a way as would deprive them of their liberty. Every now and then, at the Lord's Supper in a church of a highly connectional communion, or at some other service in such a church, they have illustrated to them the fact that a servant of that church, generous though he may be at heart, cannot be more generous than the canons of his church. That kind of churchmanship Congregationalists forswear: to such an ecclesiastical yoke they will not trust themselves. None of the less their own churchmanship is such that they do not wish to be separated even from such churchmen, and they hope for the day when time will have wrought such changes as will permit full

co-operation. According to Leonard Bacon (again I do my quarrying in Dexter), to John Robinson, the saintly pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers,

is the honor due of having introduced into Congregationalism that more catholic spirit, those broader views of the kingdom of Christ, and that more conservative tendency, by which it is distinguished from the strict Independency which held no sort of religious communion with any who had not renounced and forsaken the national churches.

In any exposé of the Congregational doctrine of the Church, however brief, mention of the divine nature of the institution ought not to be omitted. It is the belief that God has established the church for his own ends that makes one a high-churchman in the Congregational sense. The church is human, God wot. It is for this reason that Congregationalists regard as a travesty of the facts the view, somewhat quaintly called "catholic," that any particular church or any representative of any church or the whole church together can speak infallibly. On the other hand, most Congregationalists repudiate the idea that the church is a kind of historical accident and that some other means of salvation just as good might have grown up, had the circumstances been different. They see in the church the means that God has ordained for the redemption of mankind. To that extent the church is regarded as a divine society. Christian individuals make up the church but Christian individuals are made through the ministries of the church.

It would be interesting to know how widely this conception of the church is held among Baptists and Disciples. I have generally felt in Baptist circles a greater tendency toward independency than one usually encounters in Congregationalism. On the other hand, the initial insistence of the Campbells, father and son, upon the fundamental unity of the churches, so clearly brought out by Dr. Lemmon, and my own relations with the churches of the Disciples, lead me to believe that there is more of consanguinity between Disciples and Congregationalists than between Baptists and Congregationalists in their general attitude toward the church. Possibly we are all closer to one another in this realm than is usually supposed.

V

It is difficult to draw a line between the attitudes of the three com-

munions as to the use of creeds. Here again I see no obstacle in the road of reunion.

So I return to the thought of my own sin. A person who talks reunion without being willing to inquire into ways and means of effecting it actually is a heretic from the viewpoint of the church which is to be—and I do not desire to be that particular kind of heretic. Surely the Christian must, in Dr. Burnham's words, "seek fellowship with all the followers of Jesus."

It is greatly to be hoped that the communions will take seriously the studies so thoughtfully prepared and so skillfully set forth by certain of their members and move officially toward practical ventures, together with further studies, which alone will tell us whether or not it is God's destiny that we should be one. Are Congregationalists more church-minded than Baptists and Disciples? Would this difference, in any case, be sufficient to keep them separate? How shall we know the answer to these and innumerable other questions until we step out of the role of theorists and engage in practical experiment?

Brethren of the Baptist and Disciple communions, we have gone far on our several ways; it is certain that we carry with us a treasure indispensable to the church of Christ; these days of war are days of crisis; it may be that free churches must perish with other free institutions everywhere; but I cannot believe so. I believe rather that the days of freedom in church and state are before us rather than behind, though God may be calling upon us to unite to maintain our freedom. In any case I bid you godspeed—and that in the words of John Wise, spoken in 1715:

Hold your hold, Brethren! *Et validis Incumbita Remis*, Pull up well upon your Oars, you have a Rich Cargo, and I hope we shall escape Shipwrack; for according to the latest observation, if we are not within sight, yet we are not far from Harbour; and tho' the noise of great Breakers which we hear, Imports hazard, yet I hope day-light, and good Piloting will secure all!

UTTERANCE

BY BURNHAM EATON

For all our trying
There are no words.

There are no words for the peace on the face of the dying.

None for the light of the dimming horizon
When west is done with its burning
And pale east echoes the shouting colors
In quietness ;
When the blank immensity of sky and the world and the heart is filled
With the eyes' dim looking,
The breath caught deep.

There are no words for the silent assurance in the cool church.

When young Man balanced above the young Earth,
Shoulders above thighs,
And saw with lifted eyes
Leaves blow, birds flying,
The lips of him were restless and the throat.
All the years of the world we sought
To say one to another the vision ;
All the world's years we have hunted the sound of thought.
For all our trying
The word will never come.

In all the breadth and depth of earth and the heart
There are no words. . . . Yet seek
Always the perfect word, O Inarticulate !
Then speak the imperfect sound. Speak now
For the dumb.

ARCHBISHOP SÖDERBLOM AND THE SWEDISH LABOR MOVEMENT

By GUNNAR WESTIN

THE rising labor movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century forced the old European state churches to face new problems. This was also the case in Sweden. There the labor movement was strongly influenced by the German Marxian Social Democracy. It held therefore a materialistic world-view and opposed the ideals of the old Lutheran state church and often the church as such. The Socialists attacked the church as a mighty and influential enemy within the nation; and the church people, on the other hand, saw in the always advancing Social Democracy an antichristian power which they often spoke of in pretty much the same terms now used by the strict confessional church people in Germany against the Nazi movement.

I

To understand the course of the subsequent struggle one must take brief note of the status of the church in Sweden. Since the Reformation the Swedish National Church had been so closely connected with the state that there was, in fact, a real identity. Through coercive laws all Swedish citizens were compelled to become and remain members of the only church in the country, the Lutheran state church. The punishment for apostasy was banishment. This law was enforced as late as in the eighteen fifties, but repealed in 1860. After that time free churches (nonconformist) grew rather strong, although very few of their members have legally separated from the state church and become regular dissenters. The state church has remained in its old position enjoying its privileges of financial, legislative and jurisdictional support from the state.

From the Reformation on, the Swedish king and government have had a decisive authority in church affairs, especially in matters pertaining to finances (church taxes, tithes, church buildings, bishop residents and salaries); to legislation (the laws of the country made by the government and the Estates comprised also church laws as there was no longer a church making laws *iure divino*); and to juris-

diction, since the supreme authority of the state was also the supreme human authority of the National Church. But it must be remembered that the king and the government had this authority as church members. The presupposition was that there were an "Evangelical Lutheran" king and an "Evangelical Lutheran" government. This was a fundamental article in the constitution of state and church in Sweden, and it still remains. Although Sweden was strongly influenced by the motherland of the Reformation, there never existed in Sweden such a submission of the church to state authorities as in Germany. The difference in church-policy was mainly due to the fact that in Sweden the episcopacy was retained. The bishops had their freedom and authority unimpaired in the field of spiritual leadership, and as *ex-officio* members of the Estate of the Clergy, also exerted a great influence in politics and in educational matters. The schools of various types were, in fact, regarded during many centuries as a part of the church work and this condition generally remained up to the liberal reforms of the twentieth century. Since then the church has lost most of its former influence in higher and lower schools throughout the country.

Among the bishops, twelve in number, the Archbishop of Uppsala is first merely in rank. He has no jurisdictional power over his colleagues, nor any right of inspection. In such matters he is confined to his own diocese, though in later years with a development of new enterprises within the church, he has become the leader *ex-officio* in many cases. The supreme head of the bishops and the chapters is, however, the political government of the country with its Department of Church Affairs and Education. The spiritual leadership of the bishop depended to a great extent on the personal character and gifts of the man who held the office. Bishops, however, had generally been regarded as state officials as well and they had usually taken their stand with the privileged classes.

II

As the Social Democrats rose to influence in Sweden they became very outspoken in church policy and their attacks on religion were often fierce. They regarded, with good reason, the state church as a faithful confederate of the conservative political order since the bishops, the professors of theology at the universities and the clergy generally were to be found in the conservative ranks, defending the

old traditions and institutions of society. In heated discussions in the press and also in the Riksdag (Parliament), Socialist voices were raised to demand the separation of state and church (disestablishment); the secularization of church property (disendowment); the abolition of religious instruction in the schools and the separation of the educational system from church influence altogether. These were partly old liberal demands; but now Marxistic materialistic ideals gave new emphasis to them. In the labor press there was a lively fight against "the throne, the altar and the moneybag," as it was often styled. In Sweden, however, there was never such an exodus out of the church as took place in Germany where hundreds of thousands left the churches.

Up to the World War, the tension became more and more strained and the rising political power of the Swedish Social Democracy seemed seriously to menace the church. In 1914, however, it was the great good fortune of the Swedish church to secure as its new Archbishop the great scholar and the ingenious leader, Professor Nathan Söderblom of Uppsala University. Söderblom possessed a liberal and generous mind and well understood the new situation. His liberal attitude in theology and social affairs had made him suspected among the bishops and clergy and in the election which precedes the appointment by the government, he had narrowly missed not being one of three nominated. Although he only stood in the third place, he was appointed Archbishop by the government through the influence of the Minister of Church Affairs and Education, who at that time was a professor of the law school of Uppsala University.

This occurred just when the Swedish labor movement, under the strong leadership of Hjalmar Branting, the greatest statesman of Scandinavian Social Democracy, was pushing its way into power. During the World War this party grew to be the largest in the Swedish Riksdag. In a coalition government of Liberals and Socialists in 1917, a Socialist school teacher became the Minister of Church Affairs and Education. In a country in which the political government is the only central government of the church, it seemed a most dangerous thing to have an eager leader of the Marxian Socialist movement for the head of the church department. This was naturally taken as a bad omen by the church people, the more so because the new minister in his political activities, had treated bishops and church leaders rather harshly.

When the war ended and revolutionary movements swept numerous countries, the red forces in Sweden were also stimulated to new action, and the cries for a church disestablishment and for a republican constitution became louder. At that time the equal and universal suffrage was conferred on men and women. As a consequence the Social Democratic party increased still further in the following elections and labor cabinets were in power several years until, since 1932, they have controlled Swedish policy continually except a few months in the summer of 1936. In brief, from October 1917 until December 1939 when a coalition cabinet was formed, a Social Democratic minister has been the head of church affairs and education more than half the time. The same Socialist advance has been evident also in the elections of municipalities, local church assemblies and councils—the latter being elected generally on the same basis as the political councils. In some cases the Labor party even obtained the majority in these local church bodies.

Thus the old enemy of the state church has become an important part within it and, in fact, in several instances has taken the lead in church affairs. From olden times, the bishops had their free position as spiritual leaders within their dioceses and the parish pastor had been the important leader, not only in church affairs of the parish but also in education. The solution of the new problem of co-operation between a rising radical secular power and the time-honored spiritual leadership of bishops and pastors is strong evidence of the strength of the Swedish culture, its sound foundation in the homogeneity of the people, its free adaptability and its common Christian traits created by the general religious teaching in the schools. Above all, the peaceful adjustment to the new situation is consequence of the splendid and successful work done by Archbishop Söderblom from 1914 up to his death in 1931.

III

The World War had deepened the sense of social responsibility among the Christian people, and the rising power of the Labor party had also made many clergymen inclined to re-think the social questions and the position of the church. The clergy, however, generally stuck to their royalism, their faith in state-churchism and their conservative ideals in politics. But in Sweden as in Germany there was an increasing interest in the people ("folk"), and more than ever before

church leaders had begun to speak of the *folk-church* and to stress its "folkic" characteristics. This was partly due to a nationalistic movement caused by the battle over the union with Norway and its dissolution in 1905. At the same time great stress was laid on the cultural importance of the Church and its intimate connections with all parts of the life of the nation. All this made some impression on the rising Social Democracy, and at this point Nathan Söderblom played a very important role. At so critical a time, when radical political forces in Russia and Germany were tearing down old church establishments, all his brilliant gifts as a renowned scholar, an eloquent speaker, an able writer and a notable Christian character were used for the defense of the church.

Archbishop Söderblom's winning generosity of heart enabled him to build bridges and to open new roads, not only in international relations and in the ecumenical movement, but also within Sweden itself. Both the Labor Movement and the nonconformity of Sweden, which also was strong, greatly changed their attitude toward the National Church, mainly influenced by the spirit of unity and co-operation, that was Archbishop Söderblom's great gift. Some of his opponents and critics were won to his side as admiring friends and co-workers. His genuine interest in social problems and his effort to wake up the conscience of the church in that respect was much appreciated by some labor leaders. Branting, however, never had intimate relations with bishops; he represented the old tradition of the Marxist Social Democracy but without fanaticism and narrowness. Branting was a noble character, possessed of a refined personality; but until his death in 1925 he adhered to the party program in church policy.

In the Church Assembly of 1920 particularly, Archbishop Söderblom showed his great ability and his new aspirations. It was the time of profound trouble for the churches on the continent, and the red revolutionists had gotten the upper hand in many places. Echoes were being heard in Sweden. The 1920 Assembly was definitely a reply to these echoes. Söderblom had very good standing at the Court, and the Royal family participated in the Assembly. The Archbishop had also won outstanding men of learning and politics as speakers, and various fields of Swedish cultural life were represented. It was a great display of the resources of a state-church in a time of distress and turmoil. Stress was laid on the Church as a body of its own, with its own integrity and autonomy. In an eloquent speech, the Archbishop

himself fought against certain labor proposals in the Riksdag and against the general trend of the time to impair the churches. He referred to the great power of religion in the community and concluded that the state should care for religion both financially and by other support of church activities.

In this highly significant Church Assembly, Söderblom had given the question of the relations to nonconformity and the Labor Movement an extensive place on the program. The labor problem especially aroused great attention. It was arranged that two Socialist members of the Riksdag should give discourses. One of them was a well known radical politician, an authority on economics, whom the impulsive Archbishop surprisingly got appointed as a member on a committee to prepare a new hymn book for the Church. To get these two labor politicians on the program was a two-fold victory for the Archbishop; first, over the old conservative churchmanship with its traditional enmity against Socialism; and second, over the Social Democratic party as such, from which were emanating motions in the Riksdag aiming at a radical alteration of church conditions in Sweden. The whole country saw that Social Democracy stood divided in church matters and that influential Socialists were in favor of the newly vitalized Church. The subjects of the two politicians' addresses, however, were of a neutral kind as far as the church system was concerned. One dealt with "the materialism of the labor movement"; the other with "the Gospel and the renewing of the community." The former speaker stated the reasons for the general trend among the labor masses and the failures of the Church in this respect, but confessed that now he had found the Church making efforts to be better understood by the workers. He also thought that the Labor Movement could not dispense with the spiritual forces of religion, and that the Church could not do without the labor movement. If a reconciliation could take place, these movements should with greater security and success go to their tasks in the future. The other labor speaker referred to the war and the revolutions. He stated that it was evident that the possession of power has the ability of brutalizing the character of people, and thus their ideals are lowered. He thought that the laboring masses needed the Bible and the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, since a feeling of the futility of life so often prevailed among them.

The Archbishop was highly satisfied with the outcome of the daring

experiment, and the two labor representatives were gladly hailed not only by the Church Assembly but also by the Church press. The Assembly was epoch-making in more than one respect, and showed clearly that the ingenious Archbishop was going to find new paths and would succeed in spite of opposition from left and right, both from labor people and church people. The spirit of unity and co-operation prevailed during the subsequent two decades however, and there was created in the Church quite another atmosphere of interest and understanding in regard to both nonconformity and labor.

IV

The same spirit was seen in the preparations for the well organized and unique Stockholm Conference on Life and Work, the great Ecumenical Assembly of 1925. For this event Archbishop Söderblom mobilized, as it were, the total power of Protestant Sweden. He gathered people from all fields and associated them together in a co-operation that was never before seen. Members of the royal family headed this mobilized army of great men in state and church, in industrial life, and learned circles, leading men in press and politics, in nonconformity and labor. Thus, both the preparations and the proceedings of the Stockholm Conference became a manifestation of unity and brotherhood of the Christianity of Sweden. Among the labor masses this Conference of "Life and Work" on a definitely Christian basis served to remove prejudices and made way for a better understanding. The Swedish Church rose to international importance, and the daily reports in the great newspapers, the proceedings, the services and the talk among the average people caused an influence in the country that is not easily over-estimated. The results counted strongly in the church policy of Sweden during the subsequent years. The Stockholm Conference was similarly an immense success for the internal church policy of the great Archbishop.

V

This church policy always followed the middle way. Söderblom had no narrow clerical aspirations, though he tried to get good conditions for church activities in a difficult time. He always was the great servant, always generous in his estimation of other churches and of the good accomplished by the labor organizations and the Temperance Movement. He knew, understood and estimated the Anglo-

American churches and movements better than any Swedish Archbishop or clergyman had ever done. He was highly estimated and liked by scholars and students but he was also a man of close connections with the average people who lived in immediate contact with peasants and workers. He had many faithful followers among the clergy, and the new generation of bishops in Sweden—of whom ten out of a total of twelve have been appointed the last nine years—is entirely in the Söderblom tradition.

During all this time the always generous and unifying spirit of Archbishop Söderblom has been continuously at work. Meanwhile, changes within the Labor party became more and more apparent. Liberal reforms in behalf of religious freedom continued, and the process of getting the educational system loosened from the church connections carried on; but there was no bitter strife, no *Kulturkampf*. The adaptations of the Church corresponded with the remarkable adaptations of the victorious Social Democracy. Marxism as a world view (*Weltanschauung*) was little by little losing ground among the Swedish labor leaders. The sometimes rough propaganda against Christianity and the Church ceased for the most part and the new men in the government showed loyalty to the existing establishment and the cultural traditions of the country. The social reforms of the nineteen-thirties have their roots in the Christian ideals. The rising power of the labor movement in the Riksdag, in the government and administration, in the communities and the parish church affairs required a new attitude, and Archbishop Söderblom was able to offer new possibilities in this respect. Indeed, Mr. Arthur Engberg, formerly his adversary, a fierce critic of the Church and a Marxistic editor, has turned out to be the able Minister of Church Affairs in Sweden during the last seven years.

This interesting story cannot be told fully here. May it suffice to say that this Socialist Minister of Church Affairs and Education (1932-1939) came from the same province as Archbishop Söderblom, that he was reared in a Baptist home, studied at Uppsala University and in his activities as Church Minister of the State has made great adaptations to the new situation and to his new position. During his time the government appointed most of the bishops now in office in the Swedish church, insuring the preservation of the Söderblom tradition. The church leaders generally agree that Mr. Engberg's activities have loyally promoted the cause of the church. He has dealt

favorably with petitions from the bishops and other church representatives. There has grown a mutual confidence and the co-operation has been carried out smoothly in spite of a few cases of friction. During several decades the question of a new hymnbook had been discussed and preparatory works have been going on for a long time. But not until Mr. Engberg came into office was the cause advanced and the question solved through co-operation with bishops and outstanding men of belles-lettres. In 1937 the government finally approved the new hymnbook and ordered it to be used in the parish churches throughout the country. Similarly, this active and energetic Minister of Church Affairs committed to the new Archbishop, Dr. Erling Eidem, a revision of the Church Manual. He has also eagerly worked for the conservation and upkeep of old medieval church buildings and church property, and in the field of education he has achieved much.

The following quotation from a pamphlet by Mr. Engberg is very characteristic of the moderate policy in church affairs that was Nathan Söderblom's and that later has been adopted by the labor leaders.

Knowledge and practical attainments may be learnt and acquired. Research and practice increase their domain and extend their boundaries. But what cannot be learnt or acquired by practice, what we experience in art and religion, belongs to those inalienable values that a democratic cultural policy has to take good care of. It must provide for air, light and breathing space; good correspondence between the various provinces of spiritual and intellectual life; it must counteract attempts at isolation; help everything possessed of sound vitality to help itself and further broadmindedness and tolerance.

Surveying the reform work in church affairs since 1932, Mr. Engberg added that the aim of the government had been

to break the isolation between religious and worldly culture, to make them permeate and enrich each other, to lift these problems above all forms of party strife, to regard and treat the religious powers of life as natural assets both in and for a sound cultural democracy. In its very principle Evangelical Protestantism represents that respect for the dignity of human nature, that vindication of the right of the individual and the personality to oppose tyranny, that respect for the right and freedom of conscience and research which are indissolubly bound up with the democratic doctrines and democratic views of life.

When, therefore, the state deals with the question and problems of religious life, according to Mr. Engberg's declaration, it regards it as its primary aim

to relax any tension and smooth over dissensions, to strengthen the will to deliberate, to further the respect for individuality and independence within the compass assigned by the existing laws and—what is perhaps the most essential thing—to be instrumental in elevating and improving the cultural standard of the clergy by assiduous and sustained efforts and with that discretion which the very principle of tolerance presupposes.

It is significant to compare this declaration of state policy in church affairs under the Social Democratic regime in Sweden with the Marxian anti-church spirit that prevailed among labor leaders twenty years ago, among whom was Mr. Engberg himself. Nathan Söderblom had indeed won his battle.

CHRISTIAN SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT POETRY

By AMOS N. WILDER

T E. HULME advised his readers to carry a library of a thousand years a balancing pole against the prejudice of the contemporary. With this caution we may scrutinize contemporary verse, prepared to find, however, that in such a day as this men may be pressed to insights of a wide universality. The large number of significant volumes of poetry published within the last year or two forbids presentation of all, and we therefore elect to place our emphasis on what poets are saying about the public scene of our time.

I

We pause first, however, to call attention briefly to a few titles concerned mainly with personal subject matter.* *Collected Poems* of Edward Davison is the work of an able English "Georgian" poet who since 1925 has taught in this country. Though these personal lyrics deal significantly with perennial topics of the inner life no better foil could be found to bring out how rapidly the world has moved in our decades. We have also now the *Collected Poems of Robert P. Tristram Coffin*. Here we have between two covers the best work, tested now by years of public readings, of this Maine poet who has made his lineage from sea-captains and salt-water farmers thus bear fruit in a moving evidence of New England vitality today. Some of the poems touch all but intolerable poignancies grounded in family life, childhood and natural piety. The *Collected Poems* of Mark Van Doren reveal one who shares Coffin's passion for the rural setting but whose curiosities are more varied and subtle if less elemental. Like Davison he is more the conscious artist. One reader at least now fully understands the award of the Pulitzer prize to this volume, especially in view of the sections in it published since 1935. Here a rare sensibility and a distinguished mind deal with truth and evasion, with meekness and wrath, with "the mind's high play," but also with heart and conscience.

*Full titles of volumes noted or reviewed here will be found at the conclusion of the article.

E. Merrill Root in his *Dawn Is Forever* writes as a persuasive idealist on personal and occasional themes, often with a refreshing intimate accent. Faith speaks here with true exultation. Some of the poems have that particular richness or compounding of poetic means which make the superior artist. In this romantic tradition, however, it is difficult to achieve that sense of immediacy or true realism or profound seriousness which the new poetry often achieves. We see the same handicaps and achievements in a quite different, that is, a Catholic approach to themes of personal faith in *Woven of the Sky* by Sister Miriam. Those who have lately disputed the values of the convent should include the evidence of this brief volume. The verse is not distinguished but here and there the spirit lifts it up, as when the author writes of "love's endless conflagration," an image, by the way, which Martin Luther set over against the lesser fires of Hell.

II

Passing then to poets who presume, in Auslander's phrase, "to wrestle with their age," we find a large number and of various types. It is among these that we look eagerly for clues to the strange events of our time and testimonies as to the profounder forces at work. Will they subscribe to the ancient lament,

The peoples labor for the fire,
And the nations weary themselves for vanity. (Hab. 2 :13)

Will they, rather, renew the prophet's exclamation,

When thy judgments are in the earth,
The inhabitants of the world learn righteousness. (Isa. 26 :9)

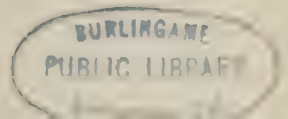
Or will they affirm the positive faith of Isaiah?

This is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of contumely; for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth. (Isa. 37 :3)

Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? said the Lord. (Isa. 66 :9)

We may inquire first of two poets of traditional character who speak to the present crisis in distinctly religious terms.

The title poem of Joseph Auslander's *Riders at the Gate* is concerned with the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, riding today, calling the kings to account" and "breaking the city asunder." The three horsemen that represent retribution cry to the world, "You have sent



for us: we are here." We shall note below how Auden similarly pictures society as "luring the crooked wing." Auslander's long poem is written in a short trimeter line which well conveys speed and fear but which unfortunately often demands forced rhymes. The Hebrew prophets are paraphrased effectively. Here is doom on the nations and doom in modern terms:

And bandages stiffen with blood,
And the surgeon's baskets slop over,
And shapeless things writhe to cover,
And the Three Horsemen thud.

And the steel wasps drone and deliver,
And horses, gun carriages, men
Are blown into pieces again,
And the great holes vomit forever.

The fourth horseman represents Hope and is shown at the conclusion of this modern apocalypse weeping over the Jerusalems of today.

The poem fails of the full effectiveness it promises, partly because of the difficulties of this stanza form, but also because of the ambiguous character of the Riders. Now they are identifiable with the Caesars of today, and now they encourage the doomed nations against them. The shorter poems in the volume reveal the same themes and the same ambiguity. There are summons to strive, if not to war, for liberty, and even an appeal to Byron to rise. But there is also repudiation of war: "How carve this banquet with the sword?" referring to the Eucharist. Yet if Auslander does not clearly tell us what we should do, he touches a number of the roots of our disorder, as in "Answer to Midas":

Strange that gold which crumbles not,
Makes the heart that hugs it rot;
Incorruptible, its kiss
Corrupts the lord whose slave it is.

Hermann Hagedorn, in his *Combat at Midnight*, likewise gives us a volume in which the Christian theme is explicit. Conversion is presented in four narrative poems which, in their every-day setting and slang vocabulary, remind us of Masfield's "The Everlasting Mercy," though they do not pretend to its length or scope. They are not always successful but their very boldness makes them interesting. In one of them the leading character whose soul is in the toils is pursued by the words, "This is God speaking"—coming as he at first

supposes from his radio. The present emergency appears also in this book. "It's Going To Rain, Said Noah," "There Is a Need of Bonfires," "America to Europe, 1939," wherein America admits,

We have not tended the beacon that once cut
A road of glorious fire across dark waters,

"Manifest Destiny"—all these deal with our present occasion. A suggestion of the sincerity of the poems may be conveyed by quoting lines from "Broadway and 42nd Street," where the poet gazes on the throngs that pass:

I thought they were the dead . . .
And I saw they were only children, bewildered, bewildered,
Running away from God, from God, in the darkness.

Auden says much the same thing in his "September: 1939":

Lest we should see where we are,
Lost in a haunted wood,
Children afraid of the night
Who have never been happy or good.

III

We can now group four volumes that in whole or in part deal with the American hope. Reuel Denney in a first volume, *The Connecticut River*, shows in the title poem the shadows on American life as they appear to him. Mills are closed, milk is sold under monopoly control, feed is procured at ever higher prices. "Neuroses and division feed upon Aristocrat and the people of the town." The hope delays which singers of the past had announced:

What glacial silence would be pressed
On tongues that meant then men should act as brothers?

Returning to Hagedorn, the same appeal to the promises of the past for American life is made in a Tercentenary Ode for his Alma Mater, "Harvard, What Of the Light?"

Light is not light, that lights the mind alone . . .
What of the lamentation
Under your windows, the moaning of multitudes, crying?
Once more, Harvard, ships on the stormy sea?
Once more, Harvard, the foot on the perilous shore?
Once more, runners with torches? Beacons, proclaiming
Once more, once more, the ineluctable Christ?

John Ciardi's *Homeward to America*, another first volume, renews this query as to whether the American promise is being fulfilled. The poet speaks to his immigrant mother, "You found your America. . . . It was all good" (despite steerage and slums), "but I can promise you nothing." In a poem called "Continent's Edge," he points to the close of geographical exploration and bids us

turn back and find
Adventure natively. Bring home the lust
The wanderers gave to sea and the flung wave-dust,
And build it in the space
Between the winter and the fireplace.

The same theme occupies Marie Welch in *This Is Our Own*, in her closing poem, "To the Explorers":

There is much space still to explore and conquer
Between these old seas on this well-known ground.
The world is wide as always and as always
Wider than the world is round.

Last league of water sailed, last island settled,
Still must explorers journey hardy-hearted—
Peace is a country yet unknown, and Plenty
Has been discovered, but is not yet charted.

Ciardi reflects the almost harsh disillusionments of a young generation that has seen the fall of Barcelona and other signs. He disavows romantic religion,

And I declare an end to the small diet
Of apostolic broth and the biscuits of a dead world.

He tells us that now "the enemy is known." Youth must leave books and dream to resist the new evils or "leave your world to be undone." In his Section called "The City" he traces the long history of empires that led up to America and then asks as to our present:

Is it time . . .
Love, is it time to build on rapturous cells
The whole child of desire . . .
Love, will there be time?

This introduces us immediately to the most significant recent poem on the American theme, Archibald MacLeish's *America Was Promises*. He goes back to the foreshadowings and promises that

haunted Columbus and Jefferson and Adams and Tom Paine. But disillusion already dogged their steps :

The Aristocracy of Wealth and Talents
Turned its talents into wealth and lost them.
Turned enlightened selfishness to wealth . . .
Bred out : bred to fools : to hostlers :
Card sharps : well dressed women : dancefloor doublers.

Yet there was always the hope that when the time came the people would speak for themselves and the rest would listen ;

And the time came and the People did not speak.

The poem ends with insistence that the promises are still America's, but only theirs who resolutely take them.

IV

We are introduced into a wider field of social and spiritual concern in the recent work of Muriel Rukeyser, Kenneth Patchen, Louis MacNeice and W. H. Auden. Of these the first two are American. Miss Rukeyser, whose searching social protest in "*U.S. 1*" was widely recognized, now explores deeply, if obscurely, the omens of our land in *A Turning Wind*. In a foreword she acknowledges her aim to uncover the sources of power in our inheritance and to utilize new symbols for them, since in her view the older supernatural symbols are misleading. The intellectual, not to say recondite, character of her quest and expression is suggested by the bibliography given, as well as by the list of New England figures to whom she devotes a section: J. W. Gibbs, Ryder, J. J. Chapman, Ann Burlak and Charles E. Ives. Her poem, "Democritus Laughed," shows her acclaiming the rational spirit in its victories over religious and political obscurantism. Here and there in the baffling difficulty of her work, or better, perhaps, of her subject matter, one finds exciting formulations of this new world's travail. We are entering on an age of night and catastrophe ("Age of Magicians"), but it is an age for America of embodiment and initiation—"deep in a passage of rebirth"—"lit by the night-light of history, persevering into the incredible washed morning air."

Until the organs of this anatomy are fleshed away at last of gross, and determining self, develop a final structure in isolation. Masterpieces of happiness arrive.

Kenneth Patchen, another outstanding representative of social concerns, cannot now share such faith in the future. The value in his work lies rather in the degree to which he identifies himself with the human costs of the present crisis. His recent volume, *First Will and Testament*, reports with absolute immediacy the personal and public horrors of today. Here is one book in which one feels past question that there is only one disaster in the world today and that America is as much a part of it as any land. Here are the unemployed of "Street Corner College":

. . . We have nothing to do ; nowhere to go ; nobody . . .
 We are the insulted, brother, the desolate boys.
 Sleepwalkers in a dark and terrible land,
 Where solitude is a dirty knife at our throats.

And here is the convulsive and bitter outcry of the cannon fodder of all peoples today :

I am lifted out of wombs
 And never put back anywhere . . .
 I am grown in their hovels like a vegetable that can be eaten.
 They won't wash off my dirt.
 They put me in parades and distribute pieces of my corpse . . .
 And every now and again something looks down and
 Smears the doings of God over our murderous hands.

I should like to pray now if I can stay out of a trench to do it.

But that a harsh proletarian poet is capable of wonderful tenderness, and that we should never let fear or class prejudice blind us to the resources for love among the underprivileged, let the following poem testify, an elegy to a child, "In Memory of Kathleen."

How pitiful is her sleep.
 Now her clear breath is still.
 There is nothing falling tonight,
 Bird or man,
 As dear as she ;
 Nowhere that she should go
 Without me. None but my calling.
 Nothing but the cold cry of the snow.
 How lonely does she seem.
 I, who have no heaven,
 Defenseless, without lands,
 Must try a dream

Of the seven
 Lost stars and how they put their hands
 Upon her eyes that she might ever know
 Nothing worse than the cold cry of the snow.

Louis MacNeice and W. H. Auden are two of the recently dominant group of poets in England, men now in their middle thirties. With Stephen Spender, Day Lewis and others they have attacked the British scheme and policies after the World War and have warned of the present disasters. MacNeice's *Autumn Journal: A Poem* is a diary in verse for the period from August 1938 to New Year's 1939, a period inclusive of "Munich." The poem vividly reflects the ominous situation, "the heavy panic that cramps the lungs," the spiritual sickness and sloth of the doomed, and the indecisions of young liberals in Britain who hated Fascism but who also felt their obligations to the home-land largely dissolved by its mistaken course. The reluctance to face war takes the following form:

And we who have been brought up to think of "Gallant Belgium"
 As so much blague
 Are now preparing again to essay good through evil
 For the sake of Prague;
 And must, we suppose, become uncritical, vindictive,
 And must, in order to beat
 The enemy, model ourselves upon the enemy,
 A howling radio for our paraclete.

The diary ends in Spain where the writer like many of his group drew inspiration from the Loyalist cause, and where he dedicates himself to a new integrity, the outcomes in political decision, however, not being made clear.

W. H. Auden's volume of this year, *Another Time*, shows us again the most versatile and intelligent, though certainly not the most musical, of contemporary English poets, one who is now resident among us. A dozen or more years given to exposure of the disorder of Western life sufficiently explains his voluntary expatriation, dating from well before the outbreak of the present war. Auden has warned us all to satiety. He points out in poem XXIV that the democracies have long been inviting the Furies, luring the "crooked wing," the Terrible Presences. "We conjured them here like a lying map." By intimate anarchies, by self-deceptions, and glossed-over violence, by personal indiscipline—"a father's rage" or "a mother's distorting mir-

ror"—we ourselves have prepared the way for public violence. And not only does the tiger make easy entrance and find himself thoroughly at home in the familiar surroundings of a heartless state, but also

the ape
Is really at home in the parish
Of grimacing and licking.

The course of events brings a rude disclosure of the character of the Almighty. In "Spain, 1937" God berates men for thinking that he is altogether such a one as themselves:

To you I'm the
Yes-man, the bar-companion, the easily duped.

But events reveal his implacable aspects, and when sobered nations plead to him in panic, there is no deliverance:

History to the defeated
May say Alas but cannot help or pardon.

Auden further rebukes democratic idealists who aver that the Devil has now broken parole and that they must go to war to chain him up again. He castigates factories "where lives are made for a temporary use, like collars or chairs." He writes hauntingly of the refugees. He satires blood-atonement morbidity. All in all he would awake the complacent and the drowsy to the fact that they now live in "another time." Perhaps his deepest thought lies here, that social tyrannies in either totalitarian states or in democracies flourish on the maladies and sins of the individual. He sees these tyrannies as living on "lucrative patterns of frustration." The masses tolerate and nourish their masters because of their own warped desires and obscure hurts and poisons. When Auden pursues the basic problem of salvation to any length, and none can doubt his passion for a solution, it leads him to psychology. The splendid tribute to Freud in this book shows that for him the cure lies in self-knowledge, in sunlight in the deep places, in honesty, in self-pardon. Thence will come wholeness and reconciliation and man's "dark, disordered city" will be sweetened.

It is a solemn consideration that such poets as Auden and Patchen and Rukeyser and Yeats, whose *Last Poems and Plays* deserves more attention here than our space allows, have had stumbling blocks thrown in their way towards a true valuation of Christian resources.

Nevertheless, beneath a formal rejection of it is a tacit appropriation of much. This hospitality to Christian values and insights should not be discouraged or rebuffed by a revival of Christian dogmatism. There is today an insistence by many theologians that Christian truth and power come alone through the canon and the church, through the Word and the rite. The humility, compassion and responsibility that we find in these poets suggest, however, that the religious reticence and non-dogmatic character of the modern conscience and of modern affirmation do not constitute disbelief but rather re-statement. Archaism is as much to be feared as modernism. May not the Bible be better accounted the matrix of modern Christianity rather than its inflexible form? In any case modern poetry betrays a conscience which has not refused, as Auden says of Freud, to go its way

Down among the Lost People, like Dante, down
To the stinking fosse where the injured
Lead the ugly life of the rejected.

Yeats himself, for all his inclination to a pagan transcendence of evil, refused even in his old age to abandon his task of "giving more backbone to the high-minded and the high-hearted, to the sweet-minded and the sweet-hearted, and first of all to myself":

That were to shirk
The spiritual intellect's great work . . .
Nor can there be work so great
As that which cleans man's dirty slate.

It is for Christians to complete and reinforce rather than to censor such impulses.

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THE EXISTENTIAL CHURCH

By GAIUS GLENN ATKINS

THIS title seeks, ineptly, the dignity which CHRISTENDOM demands for its Table of Contents, though no word, according to the dictionary, has less actual content than "existential." It is the pure abstraction of being vocalized. It predicates existence and refuses further detail. The logician and the mathematician find it useful in their more abstruse enterprises; it has been used to label a philosophy and theologians yield to its allure. It would seem, therefore, to be chiefly useful as a point of departure since it furnishes no more than a spacious frame into which may be fitted the various forms which abstract existence—if there be any such thing—has taken.

One may begin, there, with an existential Church—*verbum* and *praeteria nihil*—and go on to examine the suggestions and realities which the word includes. For a sovereign word is more than the logician's abstraction or the historian's generalization. It is the creation of life and time, carrying always deepening deposits of memory and meaning. It is both permanent and plastic, perpetuating meanings, spacious in its hospitalities and with the power to subdue to its own essential nature contributions drawn from innumerable hinterlands, which is what makes it sovereign.

They—the sovereign words—have a power to rally to themselves passionate support interwoven with the living filaments of loyalty which bleed if they are broken; they become the devices upon the banners under which men are eager to fight and willing to die. An unexpected importance, therefore, attaches to their discriminating use. Because they control wide and vital fronts of thought and action, there is room for almost endless differences of opinion in their use and equally various applications of their high authority. When for any reason one or another of them becomes a master word for any particular time there is so much the more need that it should be explored, analyzed and used, if possible—which commonly it cannot be—with some consensus of understanding. Such consensus of understanding may not involve agreement; it does define, to use a well-known term in litigation, the issue to be adjudicated. And all this applies to "The Church."

I

The renaissance of interest in and concern for the church, particularly amongst the Protestant communions, is a current commonplace. The reasons therefor are as plentiful as Falstaff's blackberries. If one were to maintain that we are falling back upon the Christian church because we do not know what to do with the Christian religion, he could put up an irritating, though probably not convincing argument. At any rate, the relative helplessness of the individual in our kind of world does accentuate our emphases upon the institution and heightens our quest for corporate security. And since most of our institutions seem at present organized to fight some other institution, then the church must be mobilized.

In addition, the blame for not having kept the world from being the extremely undesirable kind of world it is, to which the church has been for sometime now subject, has stung its leaders into a new corporate church consciousness. On the whole their reaction to the criticisms of which a much discussed editorial in the most de luxe of all our periodicals does them credit. "Your periodical," they might have replied, "and the secular press generally, have for a long time now been claiming to create public opinion, determine policies and direct events. Now that the demonstration of your failure and even your relative powerlessness has hit you squarely between the eyes, you are desperately in need of an alibi and you are making the church your alibi." The real significance of all such criticism is their implicit recognition of the primacy of religion and the social significance of the church. They recognize the essential authority of what they blame for its lack of authority. Why else should they blame it?

It is ungenerous, however, to find in the present concern of churchmen for the church only a defense reaction. The massive front along which the unchristian and the inhuman challenge civilization does make Christian unity desperately urgent. But the ideal of a united church has a grace of its own. It is of the nature of Christianity itself. [One may justly distinguish between a unified and a united church and hold that it is the unity of Christians rather than the unity of the church which is of the nature of Christianity. "The Body of Christ," to quote a phrase, which should be used with far more reverent circumspection, is not, one may also hold, "wounded anew" by the historical fact that we are Greek Orthodox, Latin Catholic or vari-

ously Protestant. The way we live together would seem the significantly Christian thing.]

If then, the despairing are asking the church to save the world, the critical are blaming it, and its friends want it to be a glorious church, so much the more need for precision in the various uses of the word, and especially for precision in defining the relations of "The Church" or any church to its environmental society. A sufficiency of differences of opinions emergent in church councils and conferences might be due to just the want of such precisions. A Catholic says "Church," means one thing and uses always a capital "C." A Protestant says "church," means quite a number of things and never knows whether to use a capital or lower-case "C."

Current criticisms assume one kind of a church. The statistical reports of the various denominations reflect another variety. The power—or relative powerlessness—of the church, its responsibilities and its manifold relationship to society and to its own branches and variances are all involved in these shifting meanings of one indispensable word. Very likely complete precisions are impossible. In its simplest use—as when one means only the church to which he is going this most perfect of northern May mornings—there are nuances and overtones as incapable of being fenced in with a definition as the light which floods our gardens, woods and fields. But for all that essays in classification are in order. They may not be hospitably accepted, have at the best only the value of suggestion and, if ill done, may at least provoke something better from the more competent.

II

What follows is such an essay. It lays no claim to originality. The substance of it is a matter of common knowledge. Its only value is to suggest that some such ways of thinking about the church as are hereafter considered might usefully serve to clarify current discussions, modify criticisms, explain failure and direct constructive processes.

The classification proposed has nothing to do with the statistical tables of a religious census. It crosses denominational lines, ignores "Established" or "Free," makes no distinction between Pope, bishop or presbyter. All these fit into it at one point or another but it does not undertake to judge between them, and it would not be recognized at any ecumenical conference on Faith and Order. It merely suggests that there are at least five applicable senses in which the word church may be used ; actually is used.

There is, first of all, St. Paul's "Church." One may call it his "Church" because his mystic, lyric, passionate exaltation of the church is the fountainhead of a conception—how cold a word for so glowing an attitude—of the church which has persisted across almost two thousand years, and is now reasserting itself even amongst those for whom it had grown dim and distant. Whether St. Paul had at all in mind what most of us have in mind, when he thought of the church, is a question for the exegete and historian. But by the time his "ecclesia" came to be translated into Latin or anything else, the church historically, as need and time had made it, was there, already definite in structure, rich in association and beginning to be authoritatively self-conscious, ready to become the lawful heir of all that he had said about his fellowship of believers and take over their spiritual estate. It was a bequest of incalculable import.

For his "ecclesia" was the body of Christ, a conception of superb and creative insight destined to span millenniums with consequences he could not have foreseen. Or else Christ was its head from whom all the body having nourishment, increases with the increase of God. Union with the ecclesia is union with Christ. It must be without spot or wrinkle or any such thing—the terrestrial revelation of a celestial reality. One this conception of the "Church" began to be widely held and authoritatively asserted, it had—and has—a measureless power to evoke reverence, constrain loyalty, capture the imagination. It was also hospitable to most elastic extension.

It was extended backward and accommodated to the hopes and dreams of the Old Testament. In such ways the church made itself the heir also of the religious past of Hebraism, foreseen by the prophets and sung by the psalmists. One begs the most disputed of questions in saying that it was read back into the teachings of Jesus, himself, and made to become the realization of his own divine intention. His apostles, therefore, were to perpetuate it through successors to whom they communicated sanctities and validities, without which there could be no true church. All this extension of what was only germinal to begin with—and that in a relatively small number of rather vague phrases—took time of course, but the issue seems almost predetermined. For there were, we see now, from the beginning in such a conception the potencies of priesthoods and sacraments and infallible authorities which, projected into the field of history, would presently become the *Una Sancta* and make schisms a sin. The ad-

ministration of such a body fostered a peculiar sense of power. Successors of the apostles holding the Body of Christ in fee have unusual access to the souls of men, a delicate and difficult authority of which, perhaps, a key is as good a symbol as anything else.

Once that key got fitted to the locks of Heaven-gate and Hell-gate, the authority of its possessor would be immeasurable, determining eternal destinies, eagerly sought, tenaciously held, proudly administered, even under the profession of humility. Naturally the inheritors of the keys would assert their authority over every other authority and use their proper weapons to enforce it. One may call this, if he wishes, the ideological church, though those who believe themselves its successors would protest that word. Can a church whose offices maintain the Real Presence upon its altars be only a fiction of the imagination? This conception of the church could not, should not, be lost. Reformers might change—did change—its seats of administrative and supporting theologies. But the Reformers, however they differed amongst themselves in theory and practice, were one in seeking New Testament foundations for their new creations and claimed for them imponderable inheritances of reverence and loyalty. The hymnology of Protestantism reflects all this even more luminously than the hymnology of the Latin Church. For of this mystic Church the generations have sung, "The Church's One Foundation," "Where Are Kings and Empires Now," and "I Love Thy Church, O God:

For her my tears shall fall,
For her my prayers ascend.

This is the church which sustains faith, commands loyalties and corrects the fugitive by the enduring. It has saved Christianity from being bodyless; it has saved the historical church from being no more than an aspect of its times and from being lost in them. It is one source of the perpetual renewal of Christian ardor. It asserts its spell even over those who have no connection with the church and in seasons of extremity or despair turns them toward the church for deliverance as unto a power not of this world which cannot perish with a perishing civilization or allow civilization itself to perish. Without this church we should not have any of the others. But this is also the Church about which theologians speculate and Churchmen argue. The very natural desire to possess it exclusively has set godly men at bitter odds.

III

The second church is the church of current speech and discussion. Put into quotation marks it is "the church" which critics blame and its friends defend. This second church is at once a factual reality, an indispensable generalization and an elusive abstraction. Like the "state," "society," the "economic order" or whatever else you please, it is a covering name for related facts and forces of an harrassing variety. The "state" is "any body of people occupying one territory and politically organized under one government"; which is deceptively simple. Actually the state is, here in America, one hundred and twenty or thirty million very human people who refuse to be reduced to an abstract category. We cannot do without such words but they dissolve the filaments of human relationships and let down a grandiose veil between our minds and the human situations and relations which really combine to make a church or state. When such controlling abstractions are too much dehumanized, they become portentous in their power for mischief. Witness the contemporary worship of the state.

Current uses of "the church" suggest an independent and coherent order standing over against all other social orders with a definite detachment, yet possessing an authority which, properly exercised, would subdue and transform the world. They tend to invest it with powers it does not possess and blame it for not exercising them. Latin Catholicism has maintained this conception of the church as a separate estate consistently and has in a measure realized it. (This is the basis of "concordats" and ambassadors to the Vatican.) Historically the Latin Catholic Church has been a "third" estate in completely Catholic countries with consequent political action.

Protestantism, save as it has been "established," has always been confused by this conception of the church and sometimes irritated by its logical consequences. Such conceptions of "the church" are useful as they continue a belief in the significance of the church, stress its corporate reality and its qualitative apartnesses. They are dangerous when the church assumes the status of an ecclesiastic state with the powers and sovereignties appertaining thereto. Whenever and wherever a church has asserted and maintained for any historical period such a status, it has usually ended by losing the state and something of its own soul. Christianity, apparently, was not meant to be thus enthroned and administered.

IV

Both the mystic and the abstract (poor words, both of them) churches operate more or less in a vacuum until they become the church organized for action, what one may call, as far as it works, the "working church" and, inelegantly, "the church-as-is." This is the church, Free or State, Catholic or Protestant, with all its variants and branches, with all its apparatus of possession, leadership and procedure. This is the teaching, preaching, worshiping church bringing its force, vision and authority to bear upon its communicants and congregations and through them upon society. Since this is the church we live with, belong to and, in our various capacities try to help along, it is the church we know best and know as well what can or should be said about it. Humanly speaking, this "going" church has no wisdom beyond the wisdom of its thinkers, no direction beyond the capacity of its leaders and only such authority as its members and supporters will ultimately accept. Naturally so general a statement needs qualification.

The thinkers may believe themselves divinely illumined and they may be; the leaders divinely guided, and they may be; the authority divinely conferred, and it may be. But humanly speaking, the church—any church—seems to function through its human wisdom and force. One could, for example, work out an "authority-acceptance" scale ranging from the complete acceptance of the devout Catholic to the extremely sketchy attitude toward ecclesiastical authority of, say, a Congregationalist; but all along the scale authority is conditioned by consent and may be denied—at a price.

Generally, and in all communions, the mind of the church at any given time about any given thing is in varying degrees the mind of the ministry of the church. Beyond covering exhortations to lead a godly, righteous and sober life, the layman's duties, as far as his church and applied Christianity are concerned, are determined for him by his church leaders. They reach him in such forms of ecclesiastical legislation, resolutions passed and recorded, and urgent advice as the machinery of his communion determines. His secular, political and social attitudes are, of course, mostly determined for him in the same way. A state without a head and a church without leaders are equal in their futile confusions. The professional in any field makes it his business to make up other people's minds for them.

Inevitably there are gaps of varying dimensions between the official

proclamations and resolutions of ecclesiastical bodies and the lay mind. This bears directly upon the status of the church as a social and ethical force, a study in itself and strangely overlooked. One doubts if even the Vatican can safely assume that its pleas for world peace may be accepted as the mind of all Catholic communicants. My own experience in a theological seminary, supplemented by a considerable pastoral experience, has strengthened the conviction of the variety and extent of the gaps between our various chairs and, say, the Auburn Rotary Club and similar organizations which enrolled the most intelligent citizens of a highly cultured community. The gaps were naturally less between the social and ethical positions of the ministers of the churches and their parishioners; but they were there, concealing latent hostilities and irreconcilable ideologies. Twenty years ago the mere discussion of the Social Creed of the Federal Council had the same temperamental effect upon the Detroit Manufacturers Association as a pole in a hornet's nest.

Such self-evident facts lead directly to the always embattled consideration of the reasons for the church's anomalous position. It has had Western civilization as its field for fifteen hundred years. What it has done and left undone has been subject to the most searching examination. A just verdict is unbelievably difficult. One can only confess that it has not only failed to create even an approximately Christian civilization but that it now looks with sorrow blinded eyes upon the tragic ruins of its hopes and dreams. Why has the "working church" worked so unevenly, in many regions so futilely? Maybe the fourth church is "Why."

V

This fourth church is all the people in all churches. Here in America it is about sixty million persons on various culture levels; in the gross the best of our population by the best of tests. This church is so much a part of our present going social, economic, political and international orders that its members cannot possibly disentangle their church life from their general social fabric. It (the "fourth church") is always the current Christian aspect of society but only one of the manifold forces by which society is shaped and directed. One may gravely doubt whether, for great numbers of church members, it is even the dominant force.

It is in competition with massive social, economic, political and na-

tional forces, alien or hostile to it. Every Christian individual is caught in their embattled stresses. Given so much pressure and his Christian idealism gives way or else, if he maintain his idealism, he is pathetically unable to do anything with or about it. Thus his Christian loyalties involve him in contradictions, ask the apparently impossible, make his soul a battlefield. Really good Christians follow their religion in one region of their lives, puzzle about it in another, declare a moratorium about it in still another.

This actually existing church, which is what "The Existential Church" has become, is a great, confused, human complex, hard to penetrate, slow to change, divided in determining loyalties. Any demand, therefore, that such a church should assert a redemptive dominance over the world must, in all fairness, recognize the entangling identities of the church with the world. Such demands usually imply that the church can and should come down upon the world—or society—from an above-outside and set it right. (Editorials in *Fortune* and *The Christian Century* are identical in such assumptions.) But how can church members and leaders get outside this world; one might as well ask them to get outside themselves.

One grants at once the needed qualifications to such a statement. The Christian and his church may have, do have, judgments, standards, values, faiths, ideals which are not of this world. They have an invaluable power of detachment, they are in St. Paul's own words, "colonists of heaven" but they are also citizens of quite a different order, and their power of actual detachment from it does not exist. All this bears directly upon the status of "free" churches in a democratic society. A completely hierarchical church is in theory (as already noted) above and outside its ambient society. If it can win (or subdue) the mechanism of society; magistrates, courts and police to enforce its will, it can come down upon society from the outside quite forcibly. In fact has more than once so descended.

The record of such invasions is not on the whole a happy one. They eventually provoke revolutions and reprisals. It is however a fascinating theory, hard to surrender and it now haunts our disordered world with the ghosts of vanished times of ecclesiastical dominance. It would seem so short a road to so glorious a goal. It does not, however, fit our kind of society. Its spiritual sword is two-edged. The church—even the proudest—has always been tied up in one bundle with all human relationships, has been one aspect of their hopes, perplexities,

inconsistencies and slow power to change anything—or be changed. Religion itself has never been anything but an aspect of life. When religious institutions become ends in themselves, they begin to cut themselves off from what nourishes them and the power they arrogate becomes only a shadow.

Being thus bound by all sorts of living filaments to society, institutionalized Christianity is committed to slow processes of social redemption in ways and through agencies which are a study in themselves, but which begin at least in a community of Christians who contribute their force, their faith and their vision to our troubled human enterprises with the confidence that they thus find a rightfulness of life for themselves and may, in time, fulfill the purposes of their Master in always widening relationships.

VI

There is then another church—which is perhaps what St. Paul really had in mind and which he invested with mystic and glorious qualities—because it really possessed them. He had no word for it save “ecclesia,” a secular kind of word meaning no more than an “assembly” and getting its bearings from the purpose for which the assembly assembled. Translation is always a tricky business, most of all when an experimental word, hospitable to nuances and by nature impatient of precision, gets translated—or even transliterated—into another word already precised and invested with authority. It is doubtful if the dominant words of any religion can really be translated. It needs therefore a deal of reading backward to equate the “ecclesia” of St. Jerome with the “ecclesia” of St. Paul.

There were, to begin with, no associations in the current meanings of Paul’s word with a permanent organization per se. The Greek “assembly” was fluid—called for this or that—and dissolved. It is most unlikely that St. Paul ever envisaged a permanent and highly articulate organization of his “saints.” Till the day of his death he expected that he—and they—might at any time be caught up into the air to meet their Lord. He was not primarily concerned about ecclesiastical affairs—on the contrary. He might or might not have taken pride in St. Jerome’s church, could he have foreseen it, but his “Church” was the Fellowship of Christian believers and doers. They were the Body of Christ, the true ecclesia—then and ever since. All the rest is incident and ambiance, needed because it came, a form to

enable the Spirit but in no wise to be invested with any sanctity which the community of Christians does not supply. All churches however named and classified live out of their effective, creative, Christian fellowship—at their best. At their worst, they live on it thereby subduing it to alien ends.

This Christian fellowship supplies also the working liaison between the Christian way and truth and every other social way and truth—or untruth. Paul's Christian brotherhoods, his little groups of so sadly fallible saints—were to begin with the cells out of which the Christian organism grew. The here-and-now community of Christians continued that indispensable service. T. S. Eliot hopes that through that community the idea of a Christian society, implemented by education, could be progressively realized. He wrote, so he said, for England and so made the Squire and the Vicar pretty necessary parts of the "community." A different society, he admitted, might get on without them.

VII

Beyond agreeable generalities, Eliot is not particularly helpful. "The main task of the Church," he wrote, "is a more profound scrutiny of our society, which shall start from the question: to what depth is the foundation of our society not merely neutral but positively anti-Christian?" (In the light of current events that scrutiny should not take long.) "It is much more the business of the Church to say what is wrong, that is what is inconsistent with Christian doctrine than to propose particular schemes of improvement." The church has been doing exactly that for about two thousand years with such results as headline our newspapers. It is so much easier to say what is wrong than what is creatively right.

I have used the past tense for these quotations, and what a tragic past tense it is. Once more, as essentially always, the Community of Christians are a remnant. The idea of a Christian society seems for the time almost hopelessly eclipsed. We face a more insistent question: Shall we, for a hundred years, have any society at all, save at the will of the masters of an inhuman force? But the community of Christians is left. They are the loyal, the devout, the good in every communion and every local church who follow as best they can the way of Jesus Christ, seek the guidance of his truth and re-incarnate, as best they can, in fears and confusions, his attitudes. Such as these,

Jesus said, were to be the light of the world and the salt of the earth. Laborious, patient, kind, long-suffering, they are the comrades of those whom St. Paul called saints, entangled and unfinished as his saints were—and yet with a saving apartness. They need far more to know what is right than what is wrong, knowing already that so many things are wrong.

Between them and a Christian society there are “ifs” enough to make a Maginot line—if that line had been as strong as its creators thought it. If there were more of them; if they were wiser; if they could co-ordinate their force; if they could between them create the mechanics of a Christian society and implement their faith and vision. And one final “if”—if they do not and cannot do it—we face a deep and deepening darkness. The present sovereign duty of the church would seem to be to maintain a community of Christians. Their duty, amongst so many other things, is to maintain the church as an outward and evident sign of their fellowship and, according to the light they have and the devotion they can empower, make the church a community of Christians.

There is no conclusion signed Q. E. D. to such ways of thinking about the Church as have been here suggested—so much of it seems to end in the air when we need so desperately directions which do not end in the air. During the slow writing of this article the balance of power in Western civilization has been changed, lines thought impregnable have been pierced. The contention of thoughtful publicists that we are entering a fourth major change in human history seems supported, the fear of the more despairing that we face a new “dark-age” is understandable. It is not easy to match words against such a time. Very likely those who have been most copiously matching words against it rather wish they had not. But Montaigne—who lived in a desperately disordered century—warned against underestimating the tenacity of a civilization. Cities do rise again from their ashes. We are not defending a futile faith when we maintain that what best deserves to endure is what is nearest to the essential nature of Christianity and that the church, sheltering and fostering the community of Christians, holds as its mandate the ways and truths to which civilization is to be subdued if it is ever to be better than a succession of tragedies. So much the more need then that the church, besides understanding its Gospel, should understand itself.

I SHALL NOT WANT

By LAURENCE ELLERY

I LEARNED to read on winter evenings from the New Testament. All day snow covered the fence tops and piled to the window-sills. White fields stretched away to fir forests and to the trackless North. At night the house creaked in the wind and life was small in a vast space. "*A sower went forth to sow . . . good ground . . . stony ground . . . seed . . . fruit . . . the tree of life bearing twelve manner of fruits . . . vine . . . wind . . . where it listeth . . . laborer . . . eleventh hour . . . two sparrows for a farthing . . . water into wine . . . Pool of Siloam . . . Sea of Galilee.*" In a warm honeycomb between fire and lamp I spelled out that "they were going over the Sea unto Capernaum."

The book of Matthew lay around the table in a flat and colorful landscape, hot with summer dates, figs and palms. I knew springs, wells, sheep, cattle, bread, wine, gardens, harvest, all the pastoral elements of the New Testament narrative. I had seen doves, serpents, fishermen, boats. Almost my first memory was of the sea. I was fed on stories of the tropics and of Spain. Playing with seashells and pictures of ships, I was always running a finger along the edge of a yellow coral fan or the pink branch of seaweed like a petrified Judas tree.

I put these fragments of the exotic into the Biblical past. A keg of cider or a barrel of apples in the cellar were just themselves, but if I fell over the wicker casks from Barbados I was in the Bible. I looked and looked at every woman named Mary. On the road to Grandmother's I passed a little house behind larches, the home of a bed-ridden old lady. Walking in a chill I reasoned that the invalid must be in the thirty and eight years of infirmity; she was the drama "Arise, take up thy bed and walk"; her ear must always be listening for "Wouldst thou be made whole?"

I was at a loss before miracles, but thought that I understood parables. Prayer was a parable. I was grown up and this childhood world was ended before I knew that anyone believed literally in hell fire, golden streets, or chrysoprase by glassy seas.

The village church was my introduction to design, form, people, social ceremonial, and consciousness of intellectual life. The white

building with the spire was set at a crossroad among green fields. Open for only three months of the year, and with no more than the Sunday afternoon of the pastor's time, it still had the function of Nôtre Dame and St. Peter's. It presented a world.

The inside was a grim white rectangle: impossible to say why it felt like being far down the throat of a calla lily. The floor was white, the walls and ceiling dead white, the stove a splash of black. A bright red carpet on a high platform cut the picture in two with harsh bi-symmetry. Three high-backed chairs carved into peaks, the tallest in the center, pointed the design upward. Twin vases of sweet peas, set on either side of the lectern, repeated it. The little organ was strident, the yellow pine seats were hard, the congregation only fifty people in silence.

Yet the building was in precise order and of immaculate cleanliness, and gave a child the feeling of Châtres. The flowers were arranged by the town beauty; the silver communion goblets and pitcher were in the care of the town saint; the keys to the door were held by a Civil War veteran; the old body who rang the bell had been in the Battle of the Wilderness. Nearness to the shrine implied gifts of character and personality.

The formula for the long church service was rigid. Never be late, never leave early, never move, speak or whisper. Respect the mood; remember the text, the Scripture selection and the sermon topics.

Escaping the compulsion of color and architecture, I wandered with my eyes out of the open windows into the sun. Birds flew among the apple trees and July wind stirred fields of daisies and buttercups.

But there was a still stronger compulsion in the atmosphere inside. It only came to me in church that grown-ups had more than one life. My young parents had the knack of so entering their children's world that they were partly "us," and partly Father and Mother. Looking at the largest gathering of adults I had ever seen, I felt that they were more than my classification of Alice's mother and John's father. Set apart in meditation they appeared different; they were new.

The old minister must have been seventy. He believed in exposition and was against compromise. The deacons used to wish that he would do something to interest the young people and end by deciding that the young people must be interested in him. His strong voice rang all the bells of sound in Corinthians and Revelation, and he used to line, "I know that my Redeemer liveth"; but I recall chiefly that this was

a learned man. I already knew rich men, business men, sea captains and farmers. Because of him I set learning apart. The square, kindly face had a different look. A quarryman arguing for him said, "I am not myself a thinking man, but thought is rock."

The rich man of the camel and the eye of the needle sat in a front seat. During the long prayer his shrunken figure knelt on the bare floor. His thin liver-spotted old hands held tightly to his Bible. His wife had cancer, and when his two barns full of horses and cattle burned down, he said, "The Lord can take everything else if He will only spare the woman."

The butcher was a toad of a man in stained overalls on weekdays. Red and white calves on wobbly legs drank from pails in dooryards a little while, and then went to him where the slaughter house spoiled the brook on the edge of the wood. Pigs, steers and calves, squealing, lowing and blatting, but on Sundays he repeated quietly, "Thou shalt not kill." His yellow-haired daughter sat on his knee; her summer hat with a wreath of roses and long blue ribbons dangled by the elastic over one of his big hands.

The town shrew, her hair twisted as tightly as her tongue, sat among her snarl of little boys. Her face was a dark landscape where the wind blew. "She beats the boys with a strap; her tongue is killing the old man." Now Derek, Odber, Nathan, Oscar and Enoch sat in a round-headed row. The hands that beat with the strap were folded in black mitts; the face above them was calm.

The village idiot sat peaceable and decent in grey cashmere. She stood crookedly and walked in terrible staggers. Her weekday mouth was always open, wringing out high, croaking words. In church, the blue cornflowers in her hat scoffed at her poor face, but she was still. For hours she only smoothed the neat white frills about her wrists.

The tiny deformed seamstress, long curls hiding the hump on her back, hurried through every day with a mouth full of pins and a face flushed under criticism. Sundays, she had beautiful grey eyes and the lines in her face were noble. With the lace of her Sunday dress she put on something from the city not made with hands.

The town river-driver, a man able to break the log-jam in a spring freshet, listened with his dark red ears. Some said he sold liquor on the quiet; some said his long hikes really were for the first mayflowers and pond-lilies. His crony, a thin fellow, hard in a horse trade, was always saying a loud Amen. Looking at his Sunday face, I would feel the jerks of the white mare Dolly who went lame just after he sold her

to Widow Cairn. When Dolly limped up the crossroad on weekdays, her jerks said, "Amen, Amen, and Amen."

A married couple sang from the same book, her high and lyrical soprano to his baritone. He was taller, his face cut deep with restraint; he found the place for her; she looked up at him; they shared a private feeling about singing; their voices blended and soared. One summer night her screams reached two miles away. He had beaten her, the neighbors had gone running from sleep, the fire department had rattled out, everyone had hot coffee. Little girls at mud-pies questioned, "Did you hear it? . . . Did you hear it?"—agreed that it would be better not to get married. I always expected him to strike her between the verse and chorus. They only went on singing: "Nearer My God to Thee," or "The Holy City." It took the music of a whole summer to suggest to a child of nine that both the singing and the fighting might be true.

Girls sat in white and frilly rows and old ladies in plain black rows, but men were the performers. Aunt Betsy Taylor laundered the shining damask upon the communion table, but only her husband could hand the bread and wine of communion. I understood the relative position of the fathers and mothers.

Waiting for the elders to take communion, I froze in the Arctic mountains of prayer:

Break Thou the bread of life,
To me, to me;
As Thou didst break it once
Beside the sea.

The slow words proceeded to "Take, eat, this is My body," and ended inexorably, "This do in remembrance of Me." A swoon of stillness came, the opening of mouths, the covering of faces with hands. I drew away in fright from the silver salver of bread in little white blocks. I loathed the ghostly power of transubstantiation. After the pause a lonely voice raised the silence:

'Tis midnight and on Olive's brow
The star is dimmed that lately shone.
'Tis midnight in the garden now,
The suffering Savior prays alone.

Fans rustled and handkerchiefs were lifted, benches creaked, a man's hands moved two silver goblets. I had never seen midnight, but I knew it was dark. The fountain filled with blood ran before my eyes. I sat

in the white cave and shook before savage ceremonial. Somewhere a man was crucified, but grown people could bring him to life and eat him. The butcher could drink his blood. I was afraid of the rattlesnake in the stone pile, and of communion.

At the first funeral, the white church was filled with white flowers, and a schoolgirl in her graduation dress lay in a white casket. Men coughed and shuffled, women became hysterical and cried with words. The older women had sharp new faces, and the very old sat in the incomprehensible posture of grief accepted. Here the dead girl's mother, once a rosy woman among quince blossoms, threw herself upon the coffin. The father lifted her and she shrieked. I was terrified. I had never seen grown people cry, and I had only seen dead birds. I could not hear the service and I hardly noticed the fact of death. I had trusted absolutely to the composure of adults, and it was gone. Now it would be possible for everything to end.

Wild emotion was so unusual to childhood that reluctantly I added these foreign looks and attitudes to everyday. Mrs. Jones, smiling and happy in her Easter hat, had behind her the shadow of Mrs. Jones with head flung back and long tendons of the neck drawn taut. Mr. Sands, unctuous and gossiping as tax collector, had beside him the other Mr. Sands with set face and drooping mustache who had helped to carry the coffin. I began to compare ordinary looks and manners with all probable looks and manners. A single revival meeting—tears, cries, and songs at a county campground—added to my astonishment, and colored my speculations even about strangers. It took a long, long time but I finally came to see the meaning of darkness and the necessity of tragedy.

The sum of Sunday after Sunday was that the people who ploughed the fields, killed hogs, cut hay, shingled houses, washed clothes, cooked dinners and borrowed money on mortgages, entered a world of higher values by religion. Men with heavy walk and awkward gestures looked dignified; old women softened; worn faces became beautiful; eccentrics became still. The young organist's face lighted to radiance and I see now that she looked like pictures of the Annunciation.

This change from commonplaceness to beauty I never saw so completely in any other guise during my childhood. When I recited "the communion of saints," I understood that somehow these people also were in my ineffable Biblical world.

SECULAR IDEALISTS AND THE CHURCH

By JOHN IRVING DANIEL

THE Secular Idealists, like the poor, are always with us. To progressive churchmen a Number One Dilemma, they co-operate with us in many goodly enterprises, but always in the spirit of magnificent disdain. Their "home" is in heaven; they are here on a visit.

Are they with us? We don't know, and we have a feeling that they don't either. For example, on the cover of "The Fight for Peace and Democracy," the journal of the American League, in the days when this recently interred organization was a spearhead of American liberalism, an impressive photograph of a church steeple loomed above the caption, "Religion and Democracy stand or fall together." This patent truth gave one the feeling of majestic alliance, until the magazine's pages revealed a total void as regards even the most elementary reciprocity.

Secular idealists, in many cases, attend "Co-op" meetings and public forums in our churches. Units of the Civil Liberties Union, League of Women Shoppers, Inter-Democracy Federal Union, and at the moment of writing "Peace Action" groups—adapting a specialized brand of doctrinaire "leftism" to American isolationism—have exploited the respectability of church parlors.

What distinguished the many various shadings of secular progressivism, in its composite whole with relation to progressivism in religion? Why do these people, some belonging to organizations, some independent thinkers, occasion the religious social idealist so deep a despair?

I

First of all, they are with us, even when they are not with us. They are converted to social idealism; yet few of them will accept the greatest Social Prophet of the ages as relevant to their aspirations. They reckon the church as a social force with one side of their minds; yet, with the other they depreciate religion as "purely a personal matter." Tragic results of this paradox abound.

For example, in an Eastern city of a half million people, there was until recently a single church with outstanding social vision. The

minister not only furnished unflinching leadership in all progressive enterprises throughout the suburban area, but promoted a most socially significant Sunday evening forum. Top-notch speakers were enlisted from every section of the country. The question period, the chairmanship, the accompanying adult education organization, were superlative. The auditorium was consistently packed!

Then the trustees of the church began wondering. Why the relatively slender attendance in the morning service? Who were these mobs at night? Was not the tail wagging the dog?

In a short while the minister was on the carpet with the forum as the issue. It appeared that he must materially alter the program, or resign. He appealed to the congregation, but was defeated in a hotly contested election by a three to two ratio. Without further ado he was fired.

A surface judgment would be inclined to blame the conservatives among the trustees for the loss of an outstanding citadel of liberalism in this metropolis. But there is another angle of tremendous import, if weighed in the light of potentialities. The forum followers *could* have overwhelmingly carried the election if they had earlier amended their secular status. In fact, had they joined the church, had they given it financial support—however modest—had they volunteered their talents in the areas of music, teaching, or church administration, there would have been no showdown at all. The church had a socially liberal tradition. They would have been most welcome. But cleaving doggedly to their status as outsiders, it is not surprising that the regular members regarded them in the light of their own designation.

II

The problem, though difficult, is by no means hopeless. Indeed, it is pregnant with possibilities. Increasingly, we churchmen have come to realize that denominational categories: Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc., have little intrinsically to distinguish them; but that there are two or three *major* differences between schools of religious thought—differences overshadowing the denominational picture in much the same fashion as liberal and conservative groupings reach across and partly transcend national boundaries.

Broadly speaking, therefore, may not our traditional distinction between "secular" and "religious" be voided on the edge of staggering new alinements.

The words of Jesus, "Other sheep have I which are not of this fold," may have varying applications for different eras; but do they not have relevance to the present age in terms of his acceptance of all prophetic spirits ("liberal" is a vague word), within the circle of discipleship?

After all, the leaven in the world today is not the nominal church—heaven forbid! Far more intrinsically it is a fellowship of kindred minds which have caught a vision of a better world than the one in which we find ourselves, having at the same time a sense of the potentiality of *this* world for becoming. Logically all such idealists should ally themselves, in word and deed, with those creative forces which are striving for the emergence of a greater amount of order out of the chaos of the past.

There is a difference of emphasis within this creative surge, as regards the relative importance of individual integrity, and again as to whether this Creative Force can be personalized. However, there yet may be a greater affinity for one another of *truly* progressive elements with a common goal, than between certain religious groupings of those who have little more in common than a nomenclature, to which, practically, they assign different meanings.

III

If this theoretical affinity between secular idealism and prophetic religion exists, why is it not more widely recognized? Are there differences in outlook, both superficial and ultimate, which outweigh the deposit of contemporary mutuality? "Can two walk together except they be (in every way) agreed?"

The answer to the question of recognition is found largely in terms of popularization. Progressive religion is devoid of a sympathetic press agent in wider circles.

How few among either secular liberals or conservative churchmen are there who think of democracy as rooted in the Old Testament? How few have been introduced to the Hebrew prophets as fearless men who spoke out in the name of God, for peace and the righting of economic injustice? Again, how few think of Jesus of Nazareth as the exposé of a colossal religio-political racket in the temple, and as thereafter "framed" and lynched?

Conservatives of all kinds, hearing of this would repudiate it, the religious among them stressing otherworldliness with firmer deter-

mination than ever. But, by the same token, every sort of genuine progressive should draw together more firmly with his brothers, deriving both strength and a sense of kinship from this rootage in the ages.

Once the social basis of religion becomes more widely recognized, once secular idealists in greater numbers come to realize that religious leftism is not "boring from within," but rather is the application of a bona fide (though too little used) resource of the Hebrew-Christian tradition, then a sympathetic interrelationship can be established, not on the current "exploit the sucker" basis, but in terms of sincere exploration for mutuality.

IV

But even though greater understanding could be achieved between leaders among secular idealists and certain prophetic spirits within the church, a complication would persist in regard to a mass lag. That is, we should not be disappointed if the rank and file on both sides of the line do not share in the sympathetic affinity of the leaders.

This doesn't necessarily imply hostility, so much as indifference within the area of lesser interest. For example, so many people have been in the habit of regarding religion as "separate from life," that the right hand literally doesn't know what the left hand does. That is, it is possible for wires to get crossed in such a way that one who secularly is progressive, may in his religious thinking be reactionary, and (to a lesser extent) vice versa.

An excellent case in point is the Maytag strike in Newton, Iowa, in the summer of 1938, which cost the town's most outstandingly liberal minister his job. This incident is thoroughly documented in the Social Action pamphlet, "Labor Troubles and the Local Church." (*Council for Social Action* (Congregational), 287 Fourth Ave., New York.)

In brief, the Maytag factory payroll consisted almost entirely of native-born Americans from the farming areas round about. By a vote of four to one they elected to go C.I.O. A single-industry town, when a strike was called, it is needless to say that emotions in Newton reached fever heat. Only one local minister dared to suggest arbitration in the spirit of impartiality; and he was forthwith ousted.

Here, as suggested, the secular nature of the workers' liberalism was only part of the problem. It was complicated by the fact that fully half the C.I.O. constituency accounted themselves religious, *but in a personal sense only*. On a social issue, therefore, along the lines of eco-

nomic democracy versus paternalistic despotism with important overtones in the area of civil liberty, their brand of religion, having no tap roots in the Hebrew-Christian prophetic tradition, became irrelevant.

Worse than this, the very membership of many of the workers in churches which were definitely committed to the defense of the status quo, served covertly to array them, *in their role as religionists*, on the anti-union side. Indeed, the minister of the largest Protestant church was the most enthusiastic supporter in town of the Maytag management! (More recent developments in Newton reveal that considerable numbers of persons have since left the socially conservative Protestant church in order to unite with a socially more liberal one.)

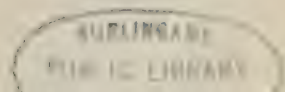
Hundreds of church members in Newton were as powerless as non-members, to prevent a prophetic champion among middle class circles from being snuffed off. Practically, therefore, failure to integrate one's religion with social idealism, and to seek out the church or synagogue which effects the proper synthesis, can be more serious than remaining aloof altogether. A non-churchman can at least remain open-minded toward the sort of church which seeks to marshall religious forces in coming to grips with life. He is always a *potential* ally of religious liberalism, whereas one who is associated with a conservative church is, to use a military figure "interned" as regards participation on a religious level in community social problems.

More and more we must revise the socially naive attitude of mind—at best an oversimplification, at worst a perversion—which regards religion as strictly a personal matter.

For example, a newly elected deacon recently came to his minister in deep consternation. How could he make the public reaffirmation of faith necessary for installation, when he no longer believed in a future life, and was not even sure of God?

The minister, happy in having found an emancipated thinker in an unexpected spot, didn't discuss the theological aspect of the problem at all, but rather asked consideration of the church as a social phenomenon. The thought was somewhat as follows:

"Potentially the Church is a social force—for progress or reaction. Father Coughlin's so-called "Christian Front," from the viewpoint of any bona fide progressive, is reactionary. *Thus far* it only speaks for a portion of one denomination; but if the thinking people, who at present comprise a reasonably effective liberal balance, all leave the church—increasingly the counsels of bigotry and reaction will mo-



nopolize the field. Prophetic voices, for which there is abundant authority in both the Old and New Testaments, clarion indictments delving down to the roots of social ills, will be silenced for want of ecclesiastical sponsorship. Priestcraft, on the one hand, and "pie in the sky" Fundamentalism on the other, will win by default."

The hesitant deacon, in this instance, carried on; but one would not expect an appeal based to a large extent upon theory and tactics to be consistently successful. Few of us possess imagination enough to *act* in relationship to the wider implications of issues. Sympathy may be expended over a fairly wide area, but overt action usually confines itself to the most tangible immediate problem.

V

While, therefore, we in the church are thinking, "Why shouldn't secular idealists join with us?" were the matter brought to their attention, the obvious rejoinder would be, "Why bother?"

The answer must be stated more clearly than ever before, in terms of a tangible reciprocity which both groups (the leaders, at any rate) will clearly understand!

The most immediate benefit accruing *to both groups at once* arises from the very ideological chaos in which we find ourselves. So swiftly is everything changing that our friends of yesterday may be our enemies today. (The relationship between England and France in June 1940 offers an only too tangible example.) In the mad whirl, *literally* we change partners after every dance! Secular idealists find their groups splintering and resplintering until they must either regroup themselves or wither away. And, amid the passionate heat of the peace issue, the same is true of progressive churchmen!

Again, the crying need for effective social idealism has always been a middle class orientation—something which the church and white collar unions alone can provide, and the former with far more potent moral leverage. How else, for example, can a substantial segment of middle class home owners be enlisted in a cause that *appears* contrary to its immediate self interest save through the more progressive churches!

Also, the funds collected for the more vital progressive causes could be vastly swelled if membership lists of the churches, in certain relevant instances, were made available in the spirit of true reciprocity.

What form of return could be made to the churches is more a mat-

ter of quality than quantity, and of talent rather than of money, but the potential help to the church, *and to the cause of liberalism, through the church*, is extremely imposing.

If only the secular idealist would realize how much he is needed—his talents, his vision—and how effective he could be in revitalizing the church! In a church of average size, as many as a half dozen new members with deep social convictions and the proper spirit, could work wonders in a year or less. The improved morale of the church would be apparent to all. They could lend their aid in revamping the Sunday School in line with the most comprehensive principles of modern education. They could organize a social action committee to apprise the members regarding the more vital problems of civic responsibility. Specifically, with Federal housing hanging by a thread in so many suburban communities, it is reasonable to affirm that one consecrated congregation, actively and intelligently supporting the clearance of a slum area, could make the necessary difference in seventy-five per cent of the cases.

Doctrinal considerations may complicate the problem in some instances, but theology is far more often an excuse than a reason. True, some vestigial appendages, in objectionable hymn and anthem words, and even in pulpit vocabulary, do survive in liberal church circles, but who are better qualified to call attention to them than these very secular idealists themselves? Stale air in a house can always be best detected by one coming in fresh from the outdoors!

Outright atheists excepted, those weighing the matter will find the affirmations required by progressive churches to require no mental gymnastics. Reasonable in the most intellectually respectable sense, most statements of faith today give far more attention to expressions of social idealism than to strictures on theology.

That myriads of *conservative* churchmen may still be plunging about in the bull ring of dogma, offers but an elementary exercise for the secular idealist's own powers of discrimination. To associate with those who believe in Santa Claus, religiously speaking, in this enlightened era is as unnecessary as it is undesirable.

A middle class person of reasonable intelligence; unable to distinguish between a legitimate union and a company union, would simply be one who didn't want to see the difference. The distinction between churches, from a socially progressive point of view, is equally valid. But, as always, there are none so blind as those who will not see.

Some light is here thrown upon the *practical* absurdity of the gnatt-straining holdouts, common on the college campus, who account themselves "religious," but anti-church. Such a purist viewpoint does not take into account the ominous danger of the reactionary forces in religion. Ostracism of the liberal church on purist grounds is essentially monastic, in that it draws apart, shrinking responsibility with respect to a vital arena of modern life. Granted that the ideal church does not exist, he is an escapist who will not stand up and be counted within the ranks of those who most nearly represent his socio-religious aspirations.

VI

In conclusion, the problem cannot be attributed entirely to the perverseness of the secular idealist and his kinsman, the religious anti-churchman. We liberals within the church must ourselves be largely to blame.

Perhaps we have provided no tangible basis for the crystal-clear distinction we expect between progressive and reactionary religion. It is one thing to talk as a liberal, and another to *act* as one. After all, other men cannot ascribe validity to that part of a distinction which exists largely within our own wishful thinking.

Again, we have many times failed to witness to the religious roots of our social convictions, when to have done so would have been most eloquent. Many a heart-felt prayer at mass demonstrations: for refugees from Nazi Germany, or for orphaned Spanish children, has failed of utterance because the religious leader of a given meeting has been self-consciously apologetic in secular company. If we will apply our spiritual resources to those situations where our hearts beat as one with the secular idealists, perhaps they will feel an answering pulse-throb of religious fellowship, such as Sunday mornings seldom inspire.

That institutional religion has fallen far short of its true mission, we must be the first to acknowledge. The vision of the Kingdom of God has been blurred, not alone because of man's incapacity to comprehend it, but willfully—time and time again. Were the church to run for re-election strictly on its record, to use a political figure, it could scarcely expect victory.

But inherent within the church's *prophetic tradition* is something which defies such measurement. There is a potentiality which it takes imagination to grasp. "Christianity has not been tried and found

wanting, but rather has been found difficult and not tried!" This suggests with pathetic inadequacy of words, a groping toward this potentiality.

Who of us, as individuals, would welcome a judgment on our records? Our intentions may be of the best, but our deeds have not measured up. How fortunate that we are not only what we are, but what through God's Grace we may become!

So it is with democracy, and so it is with the church—the inexorable requisite being that we keep the channels of self-criticism open. Hence *the very process of redemption within the church* requires the participation of more rebels—more critics.

But if reciprocal criticism is necessary, so also is reciprocal tolerance. We must be more charitable toward one another. If we could once afford the luxury of academic bickering, we can afford it no longer. "Which comes first, the hen or the egg, the necessity of changing the inner man, or of *first* remaking his anti-social environment?" These are controversies which the Crisis of 1940 has rendered obsolete. Division of labor is necessary, of course, in any large scale enterprise. We can't afford to permit our mutual faults, nor an apparent one-sidedness of emphasis, to stand in the way of a profound and meaningful co-operation. The prophetic tradition within the church, no less than its wider implications (political and economic democracy) in Western civilization are mortally imperiled, and need the widest backing of men of good will.

The secular world is cracking, the religious world is weak through division. What more appropriate time for a re-grouping, a new synthesis?

Idealists of the world unite! There is nothing to lose but the hopelessly intertwined chains of conflicting ideologies. Unite, not within the confines of a rigid political formula, nor of a parochial church tradition; but in terms of a longer view across the foothills of the centuries toward a Snow White Summit, invisible, but no less real. Whether or not we need God personally, he becomes a *social necessity*.

The moral failures of Britain, America and France, no less than of the dictatorial nations, should give us pause. We who profess idealism *hope* to rebuild from here. What is the chance of success? Of this very new society perhaps the ancient poet spoke more wisely than we know: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

THE LORD'S SUPPER AS THE NORM OF COMMON WORSHIP

By RICHARD DAVIDSON

THE Lord's Supper is the one complete act of Christian Worship. Other acts of common worship are derived from it or auxiliary to it.

I

Worship is what we say and what we do when we come together into God's presence, what we say and what we do when we realize in high degree who he is before whom we stand. But in the act of worship we are not the only doers; God has already done something very great, and he does something with us there, something also very great.

It is clear that our words and actions will depend on what he is like whom we worship. There are two ways of saying what he is like. It may be done in abstract language: "God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." And similarly it will depend on what we are like. The psychologist may talk of his peculiar abstractions—faculties and sentiments and complexes. But the attempts of theologians to deduce a form of worship from a doctrine of God and of psychologists to deduce it from a doctrine of man are disappointing. God himself has taken the better way to show what he is like. He became man in Jesus of Nazareth, in that Jesus who could say to Philip: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father"; in that Jesus in whom man beheld the divine glory made manifest; in that Jesus through whom the grace and truth of the eternal order came into their lives with enlightening and transforming power. The Christian God is one who made friends with men in Galilee, who spake as never man spake, who helped men wonderfully in their need, who restored to many the kindly light of reason, who was a consuming fire to all that was mean and arrogant and pretentious, who refused to allow the rage of men to move him from the peace of the eternal; the Christian God is the one who suffered for men on the Cross, who could not be holden of death, but ever liveth a present Saviour and Lord, working

salvation among men still, of the same mind and with the same power, "the same yesterday, today, and forever."

There is a definition of God in the concrete; through Christ men have learned what God is like. And out of her experience of God in Christ the early Church shaped a method of worship that may well be regarded as normative. So the question, What is worship? will best be put in this form: How have Christians, as a matter of fact, spoken and acted when they stood together in the presence of the God and Father of their Lord and Saviour? And what has God done with them there? It is an historical question. We cannot do without the theologian and the psychologist; they have a contribution which only they can make to the discussion, but it is the historian that we must ask first. (Is it an unconscious Biblicism that leads so many to fasten on Isaiah 6 as a norm? The call of the prophet is most illuminating to the student of liturgy; but we have been made what we are by nineteen centuries of Christianity and not by one only. Christianity has developed its own way of worship out of its own experience of God in Christ, a way of worship that has been singularly constant for over eighteen hundred years.)

II

Christian worship took its rise from Jewish worship; it was the continuation of worship in the New Israel. Jewish worship was twofold; at the Temple and in the Synagogue. Christian worship is the continuation of the worship in the Synagogue. The Synagogue had grown up in the circumstances and atmosphere of post-exilic religion. The cultus at the Temple was national and representative; the Synagogue brought common worship within the reach of every Jew from Persia to Spain. It was in post-exilic days that the Scriptures were securing a firm hold on the Jewish faith and conscience. More and more men wanted to know the law of God (his rule for man's living) as it was written in the holy books: "What man is to believe concerning God and what duty God requires of man,"—principally the latter. The Synagogue was the place where the Law was read and explained. The reading and the preaching stirred men's hearts and consciences and they fell to praising and supplicating God. But the reading and explaining of the Word was to begin with, and remains to this day, the backbone of the weekly exercises in the Synagogue. Christianity inherited the reading and preaching of the Word, in an atmosphere of prayer.

The new worship was a Christian replica of what took place in the Synagogue. Moses and the prophets continued to be read, but with a shifting of the emphasis. Moses was all in all to the Jews; Christians found a new meaning and power in prophecy. Prophecy was so notably of a piece with the new order that men found every side of their new experience clarified by its light. To the Jew, Scripture was Torah (Law); it was not long before the Christian came to speak of the Old Testament as the "Prophecy." Soon a new body of Scripture arose to stand beside the old,—letters of apostles (mainly of St. Paul and St. Peter,) and records of the words and deeds of the Lord and of the words and deed of apostles. Naturally the new books came to outrank the old, the Gospels taking their place in front of all the others.

The church took over the Synagogue service and Christianized its content and its outlook. At the same time the church added a new element, an element peculiarly her own,—the re-enactment of what took place in the Upper Room when our Lord ate the Passover with his disciples. In prayer and fellowship this experience of the Upper Room was perpetuated.

From the first glad Easter Day Christians lived in a buoyant element. They had seen the living Lord. It was an experience as mysterious and as full of potency as any man's conversion ever was. Then came Pentecost with its strange stirrings of soul, its ecstasies too high for intelligible speech. The disciples passed their days—in the Temple and in private houses—in strained expectancy; the Lord might come at any time in his glory.

They lived a common life. Nothing is more important than their fellowship. It was a fellowship that sustained them in the higher ranges of experience. It was a fellowship that quickened them to a continual praising of God. It was a fellowship of expectancy that would not let a single spirit droop. And when Christians sat down at a common meal they were human enough to be drawn closer by eating and drinking together,—vibrant with gladness (Acts 2:46) and sensitive to the slightest touch of God. (The Lord's Supper was not yet disengaged from the Agape.)

Their Lord was never far away. The Emmaus-experience (Luke 24:13-35) might be the experience of any common meal. The Eleven would suddenly remember that last night in the Upper Room. The breaking of the bread—they had to break it to eat it—would

bring it all back in a flash; the tenderness, the intimacy, the fears, the hopes, the peace,—all that we read of in John 14-17. We can understand that whenever the Eleven came together to eat bread they would recall involuntarily but inevitably that last meal with the Master. It is human nature. We can understand how the memory would solemnize and sanctify their fellowship. We can understand how they recalled his use of bread and wine to convey some truth of grace too deep for words. We can understand how they would involuntarily but inevitably imitate his action and his words; for there was being re-enacted in the arena of their hearts the drama of man's redemption. We can understand how the experience would come to be shared by the whole body of disciples; how the Upper Room would shed its light and holy memories over every common meal; and how whenever Christians came to worship and to eat together they would re-enact the scene in the Upper Room.

I used to wonder why the Church fixed on that experience in the Upper Room as the norm of its nearest approach to God; why not some occasion when he taught, speaking words of rare penetration and winsomeness; why not some occasion when he loosed a man from the fetters of disease and sin; why not that hour when his disciples beheld him transfigured, in the company of Moses and Elijah? Now I suspect that it was because of all the days and nights of their companying with Jesus, they were that night in the Upper Room taken farthest in where suffering and the joy of mastery are blended in perfect peace. (John 14-17).

III

One does not need to agree with G. P. Wetter's negations (*Alt-christliche Liturgien*) to thank him for collecting the evidence that the early Church's worship was so largely a re-enactment of the drama of redemption. That worship was Christo-centric: it celebrated the divine champion who came down from heaven, who suffered and was crucified, who carried the war into the enemy's country, beat him down, and returned victorious; and who comes anew to every company of his followers when they meet for worship. He came as they stood filled with awe and expectancy; "Stand we with awe, stand we with fear, stand we well and look upwards with good heed" (*Armenian Liturgy*). They hailed him, "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal." The core of their worship was a hymn

of praise, a *eucharistia*, a paean of victory. The heavens were opened and he swept into their midst with his retinue of angels and arch-angels, thrones, dominions, principalities and powers, and mortal men dared to join their voices with those of cherubim and seraphim:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts,
Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.

And in exaltation of spirit they added:

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

But that worship was far more than a celebration of mighty deeds that had been done in the past. It was a present experience; he who had done the mighty deeds was there among them an active Redeemer. Those who had all their life been subject to fear, cowering and helpless, were caught up in the mighty Victor's train, and set free, triumphing themselves over sin and death and evil. He who had conquered once was conquering still, working redemption in his people. So we understand what lies behind the Anaphora of the *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (Cooper and Maclean translation):

O thou Power of the Father, the Grace of the nations, Knowledge, true Wisdom, the Exaltation of the meek, the Medicine of souls, the Confidence of us who believe; for thou art the Strength of the righteous, the Hope of the persecuted, the Haven of those who are buffeted, the Illuminator of the perfect, the Son of the living God: Make to arise on us, out of thy gift which cannot be searched into, courage, might, reliance, wisdom, strength, un lapsing faith . . . Grant that every proud conception may be driven away from us by thy Name . . . A Name which, when Sheol heareth, it is amazed, the depth is rent, the spirits are driven away, the dragon is bruised, unbelief is cast out, disobedience is subdued, anger is appeased, envy worketh not, pride is reprov'd, avarice rooted out, boasting taken away, arrogance humbled, every root of bitterness destroyed.

So the worshippers found in union with Christ the consummation of their desires.

The Orthodox liturgy remains to this day essentially a drama of redemption. The story of King Vladimir is not just about the past; it is still true. He sent his wise men, we are told, to investigate Judaism and Islam as well as the two forms of Christianity. When they arrived at Constantinople and attended the liturgy under the glorious dome of St. Sophia, they were transported by the service. "Truly we

have been in heaven," they said, "and have seen the very angels worship."

The early Christian knew a Real Presence. And perhaps the most important thing that has ever been said about common worship is: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18:20).

IV

Other types of worship came into existence at an early date, especially for meetings of instruction. But it was only when groups of the faithful withdrew more or less from the world that the series of daily services which developed into the *Divine Office*, or the *Hours*, began to take shape. The older of these services did not arise out of monasticism, but it was monasticism that did most to bring them into their present order. Oldest among them is the Vigil, sometimes called Nocturns, and later Mattins; to this Lauds and Vespers were added by the year 200. The third and fourth centuries saw the birth of the so-called *Little Hours*, Terce, Sext, and None. By 500, Prime and Compline had completed the series. These eight were supplementary to the daily Eucharist.

The object of the Hour-devotions was twofold: (1) the orderly reading of the Bible and the orderly recitation of the Psalter (the Bible's prayers); and (2) the consecration of fixed times throughout the twenty-four hours to devotion. Obviously this eight-fold auxiliary worship (not once a week but every day) was the prerogative of the few who had time and interest and energy enough to maintain it. The Eucharist remained the one act of worship (daily or weekly) in which working people generally could have a part.

At the Eucharist only a small part of the Bible was read and a few of the great verses in the Psalter. It clung to the great moments of redemption; it was a central and balanced act of worship. The auxiliary devotions were free to go far afield. In them the whole Bible was read through in course. The Eucharist limited itself to short, central, and weighty passages; at the *Hours* the whole Psalter was used, in prayer, sometimes all of it every day, generally all of it every week. Those were services for the "religious," not for ordinary, busy people.

It was not the Reformation proper that set aside the main service of the church; it was the decay of religion that blighted the times.

Cranmer, and those about him, had no thought of substituting Morning and Evening Prayer for Holy Communion. Those services had been drawn with extraordinary skill and discrimination from the supplementary office of the mediaeval Church, and Cranmer intended that they should continue to be supplementary services. Calvin was sorely disappointed when he was forbidden by secular authority to celebrate the Holy Supper every Sunday. The best he and his associates could do was to conduct a service as nearly as possible like the Lord's Supper but without the bread and wine; that is, one consisting of the two movements: (1) reading the Bible and preaching out of it, and (2) making the response in prayer that belongs to the free fellowship of the Upper Room. In the Calvinistic churches we have suffered much from confusion of mind, and from ignorance and wilfulness; but our main diet of worship on the Lord's Day is the lineal descendant, not of any supplementary service, but of the Church's great central act of worship.

V

Christian worship arose from the fusion of the two elements,—what came from the Synagogue, and what came from the Upper Room. The latter disengaged itself quickly from the Love-feast, or Agape; the former discovered it could not stand alone. Each found in union with the other (already before Justin Martyr) its full vitality and completeness.

Here is the simplicity of Christian worship. First, the Word is opened up so that we see what God is like; then we pass to prayer and fellowship with him. And here is the naturalness of Christian worship. First, we listen to God speak, then we give ourselves to him and he himself to us, in prayer and fellowship. It is the order of family worship; it is the order when you visit the sick; it is the order when you preach to win men to Christ,—first, you carry the glad news to them; then, you lead them in for confession and commitment of life.

Men come into the divine presence; they are awed by the majesty and the holiness opened up in the *Introit*; they are subdued when they see God in the face of Jesus Christ. They speak brief words of contrition, of gladness, and of adoration. The *Gloria in excelsis* is an epitome of the Christian approach to God, an approach that does not speak in the singular:

Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy; thou only are the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.

The discovery of God and the discovery of self go together; they are two aspects of a single experience. They are both here; note the change from the second to the third sentence. "I was dragged up to thee by thy beauty," says St. Augustine, "but dragged back again by my own weight" (Conf. vii. 17). In the preparation "a concordance with things divine" is established.

After this preparation Scripture is read and explained. Reading and Sermon belong together. For variety and to match the movements of men's souls, songs (psalms or hymns) may come between; but Scripture and Sermon must not be put far apart. The Church has sometimes had seven passages read, sometimes five, sometimes three, very rarely less than two; the last one almost invariably from a gospel declaring what Jesus did or said. (Because they are weighted with thought and emotion, the passages must be short). So men learned best what God was like. Origen called the Gospels "the crown of all Scripture."

The Sermon starts from the Scripture read. It leads to the Upper Room. Thus the scope of preaching at the main diet of worship is defined.

So far the first stage of the action. The second stage re-enacts what took place in the Upper Room. It gathers about four verbs, three of them describing acts, not words: He *took*; He *gave thanks*; He *broke*; He *gave*. Christian piety has dwelt lovingly on every movement and word, sitting at his feet, lingering in his presence. And the acts and words have been amplified to draw out all that was implicit in what our Lord does and says.

In what corresponds to the three verbs action is primary, words are secondary. But in what matches the second verb ("gave thanks") words are primary. And words are prayer. (It will of course be remembered that hymns are prayer—sung prayer.) The great prayer—in one or several parts—is balanced and all-inclusive. It may begin with thankful remembrance of Christ, his life and death and living

presence, the basic *eucharista*, but with this will be joined praise and adoration, confession of sin, faith in his forgiveness and quickening power, intercession for all men and self-dedication to his will, with a joyful hope of his coming in his Kingdom.

In the action of worship Christian devotion has discovered four divine Mysteries: (1) The Mystery of God's mercy, drawing us in contrition and trust to him, and preparing our hearts for his Word and his grace. (2) The Mystery of God's Revelation, which enlarges our understanding and quickens our impulses towards him, so that we worship him with the mind as well as with the heart. (3) The Mystery of Sacrifice, in which we have fellowship with his sufferings and his love, and surrender ourselves wholly to the purposes of God. (There is no fellowship with Christ, no intercession for those whom he loves, without self-oblation [John 17:19]). (4) The Mystery of Union with God, when worshippers are filled with his peace and his power.

These four match the normal movements of the soul in common worship. And in this order: first, the preparation by which you come consciously into the presence of the Father; secondly, your waiting while the living oracles are sounded in your ears; then thirdly, that whole going out to him of soul and self and substance in union with your Lord's sacrifice on Calvary; and lastly, that satisfaction of all yearning as the grace of God is poured through every organ and faculty.

A complete act of worship has all these elements in it. Once every Lord's Day people have a right to expect the church to open up this way between God and man, broad enough for man's whole soul to go out to God and broad enough for God's grace to come freely to man. The Lord's Supper is the norm of Christian worship. The bread and the wine are there, it may be, only four times a year; but the main diet of worship in a Reformed Church is rooted in this common order of Christendom. As we would honor God and help men we are bound to maintain, in its simplicity and sincerity, common worship of this scope, this structure and this evangelical spirit.

RECENT FICTION

By JOHN C. SCHROEDER

THERE is no definitive phrase to describe trends in recent fiction. The authors continue to spill out words and the publishers pour out books and the public gulps them down. If there is a discernible tide of interest, it is perhaps that toward a superior brand of escapist literature in the form of the historical novel. In contrast with such pleasant diversion, which comes to the reader as a tasty dessert, there are a few novels published during this year whose social vitamin content is higher, giving sustenance to those who need a diet of realism and insight which the novelist in every generation has always been able to provide.

I

War is so much a part of our daily routine that it is almost impossible to think about it objectively. There are two recent novels which therefore are worth examination since they handle aspects of the Great War with such skill as to enable the reader to understand what actually happens to people and to civilizations when massed bodies of men are thrown against the guns and nations go mad struggling to preserve their interests and their power. Jules Romain's *Verdun* will I am sure be read for many years to come.* While it is a volume in the *Men of Good Will* series, one does not need to have read the others to understand this brilliant description of the battle of Verdun. The strategy of the Blitzkrieg makes the German attack on the French fortress in 1915 seem as antiquated a military technique as the phalanxes of the Macedonians. But the human spirit goes through the same terrible tortures of hope and despair whatever the devices of warfare, and Romain is concerned more with human values than with generals' strategies. Yet what is most remarkable about this description of one of the world's crucial battles is that, while all the exacerbation of human nerves and the horror of human sufferings are so vividly described, the author does not allow the situation to run away with his passionless remoteness from the actual strife. It is as though a god who truly understood all human feelings were

*Full titles of volumes reviewed will be found at the conclusion of the article.

telling the story from an Olympian vantage point. The prelude of the book describes the French and the German mind during the year before the battle—the clumsy bungling of the politicians, the restless anxiety of the military, the uncertain mind of the high command, the impatience of the Kaiser for a victory, the scheming maneuvers of the armament manufacturers. The men in the ranks feel the pull of the forces which are dragging them to a destruction which they do not welcome but which they are ready to meet. Romaines recreates what went on in the group mind, carefully dissecting all the complex components of that entity, while at the same time he lifts individuals out of the group to give them their own unique status. What a picture he paints of the one road to the fortress—the soldiers wearily slogging through the mud to their doom; the peasants frantically hurrying in the other direction, trying to herd their cattle and guard the few household possessions they could take with them. Romaines' hero Jerphanion goes through the worst of the battle and his comprehension of his experience after he has come out on leave is one of the great bits of writing in war literature. All the thoughts and feelings of men subjected to the pressure of horror and of exhaustion are examined like slides under a microscope. Religion, love, duty, patriotism, survival are all gently dissected. As Jerphanion says to a friend,

I sometimes find myself wondering, in a sudden panic, whether I'm not in the way of developing great numb patches in my sensibility of which I shall never be cured—even if I do come through this war. Delicacy of feeling—what a wonderful expression! Shall I ever again know what delicacy of feeling is? I may be nervous, irritable, exasperated by trifles, but shall I ever recover that sensitiveness which is the mark of the civilized man? I sometimes see myself in the future transformed into a sort of invalid who has suffered an amputation of all his delicate sentiments; like a man who has lost all his fingers and can only feel things with a couple of stumps. And there will be millions of us like that.

Our world now seems to bear proof of that statement. Even those of us in this country who are not engaged in war have become so insensible that we do not remember what it is. This, more than the transfer of colonies and the shifting of national hegemonies is the terrible result of war. This is what war does to men.

Another novel about the Great War that is worth reading is Upton Sinclair's *World's End*. It is by no manner of means an enduring novel but it has a story to tell nevertheless and does it rather well. The main characters are those wealthy people of pleasure who in their cupidity unknowingly rush their world of dalliance to destruction.

The hero is the illegitimate son of an American armament manufacturer and a painter's model whom he had met on one of his sales expeditions to Europe. The boy, Lanny Budd, is too precocious, too knowing, too aware of the forces that drive his world, to be quite convincing. Nevertheless Mr. Sinclair is able to build about his experience a plot which includes in its characters school chums of the lad, one English and the other German, each of whom gets into the war and is interpreted and understood through the neutrality of Lanny's mind and position.

The book's thesis is a little too simple—that it was the greed of the armament makers which produced the conflict. This contention enables the author to introduce Zaharoff and his duplicities, the bankers and their stupidities, Lanny's father's New England family and their Puritanical hypocrisies. The last third of the book is given over to a study of the Peace Conference. While the plot here becomes attenuated, Mr. Sinclair's analysis of the forces which produced the Versailles Treaty is absorbing historical study. All the real personages of the Conference are introduced, including such interesting people as Lincoln Steffens and George D. Herron whose abortive roles there have unfortunately been forgotten. All this is vivid and not inaccurate history and it enables one the better to understand why Europe is such a shambles now. Mr. Sinclair is often more the moralist than the novelist. He cannot make these gay irresponsible worldlings of his plot real. But whenever he introduces actual persons the writing takes on power and conviction to make the novel decidedly worth the reading.

II

The war has unfortunately driven the Jewish problem from our concern and the horror of aerial bombardment has made us forget the horror of anti-Semitism. Mr. Robert Neumann's *By the Waters of Babylon* is a remarkable study of Jewish types. In reality the book is a series of short stories bound together by a very thin thread. These are sketches of people from the ghettos of great cities, from the banking houses of European capitals, from the literary centers of the world's culture. It is dreadful to remember what happened to these poor people in pogroms in Russia and Poland during our lifetime even before the cruelty of Nazi persecution started.

Mr. Neumann is brilliant in the subtlety of his analysis of these varied types. There is the story of the stupid American Jewish prize fighter and his shabby, shabby wife; of the young scion of a wealthy

British family who has to learn that even his education at Harrow and his vast wealth will not protect him; of the studious engineer who spends his life fighting the forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The most interesting study to me was the one entitled Schlessing, or "Life in the World." Here is an extremely brilliant, utterly superficial egotist who matches the clever immorality of his nature against the ancient curse of his race. He plays as ruthlessly with religion as he does with women, with ideas as he does with men. Neumann is so deft as he takes this mind apart!

Faith—there is no faith. One's sight is too blindingly clear for such refuges of the little mind. Add to this—I cannot remember whether I was a Catholic or a Protestant at this time, for I have changed my faith four times back and forth according to the exigencies of the moment, coldly independent, passionately without my heart beating faster. Objective, without the false romanticism of any half conversion—Add to this then. I was a proud scion of that everlasting race, these victorious conquered, these corsairs down the ages whose heritage no one would evade unless he were a blockhead. In short, a Jew. It was a Jew who said: "My kingdom is not of this world." I know he meant it otherwise. But that is just the reason why people like us have to anchor themselves by finger and toe in the soil of this earth, that they may not fall into the abyss. Fools call it "Jewish materialism," "Jewish sensualism!" Sensual? I was not sensual. Acquisitive? Perhaps only inquisitive. . . .

No, it was not fear. Just a last minute delay, a most delicate erotic self-torturing, before the intellectual orgasm came into its own. Only an ice-cold intoxication. The Great Fear is beyond such clinical doubts. A man is put down all alone in the howling wilderness and stands there like a tree shedding its leaves from morning to night in the great wind of time that blows out of the darkness into the darkness; and fear seizes him.

III

Then there is a pair of books that give perspective to the industrial struggle in the United States. Meyer Levin's *Citizens* is the best labor novel I have read. While not entirely factual, it presents the actualities of the labor struggle in honest and just terms. Mitch Wilner is a doctor primarily interested in research, who by accident is present at the famous massacre in Chicago on Memorial Day, 1937. He is caught up in the very center of the struggle and its consequences, as he gives first aid to the injured and attends the dying. This starts him on his Odyssey as an objective scientific observer in this laboratory of the industrial conflict. He is on the citizens' committee to investigate the strike, interviews the divinity students who were present when the fight started, witnesses the struggle for control between the left

wing and the old-line labor leaders, and appears as a witness before the Gottschalk Committee of the U. S. Senate (the LaFollette Committee).

The novel is much more than skillful reporting. It is imaginative rather than photographic realism. It employs the interesting device of interrupting the narrative of Wilner's adventures with short histories of the life of each of the victims. Each is a type of a group in the steel industry—an old Swede who loves metal and his sons whom he introduces to the factories; a pathetic Mexican who is brought into the country as contract labor; a fighting Chicago Irishman; a Pole who loves his little plot of land—and all the rest of the victims. These case histories are more than psychological studies. Each reveals the forces that send men into the mills, keep them at their jobs and drive them to sullen rebellion. Mr. Levin also understands the inside of the labor movement as well as the manufacture of steel and his novel reveals the struggle for control among the leaders. However sympathetic he is to labor's side he does not become sentimental with these people and is under no illusion about their characters. Again he understands the minds of the policemen who were guilty of these atrocities. One is a man of natural violence; another a sincere enemy of labor because he so dreads social change that his hate becomes psychopathic; another a plain blunt man so terrorized by propoganda as to have become vicious. Then there is the remarkable picture of the ethical attrition of the citizens' committee as the average man interested in decency and order is at first roused to action but becomes easily discouraged by the obstacles in the way of immediate justice until the communists gain control of the group.

The reader is impressed by the book's fairness. Mr. Levin insists that "the story itself is evidence that I bear no malice towards any being real or fictional." While the book is thus dispassionate it is nevertheless emotionally powerful and is impressive in the fact that the author is ready to accept moral responsibility in judging what happened that hot May day. *Citizens*, I think, is a truly great novel. If nothing else in the book were worth reading, the description of old man Lindstrom's testimony before the Senate Committee is the distillation of what happens to many a good man who hopes for nothing too much from life but a chance to work and becomes the innocent victim of his fellows' brutality.

Another labor story is *The Underground Stream* by Albert Maltz. This time the locale is Detroit and the automotive industry during

"the American winter" of 1936 when the struggle for the right to organize not only stopped the industry but almost the nation. Fred Prince and his wife both work. Both are devoted to the labor movement and give themselves to it with unconditioned devotion. Prince is a Marxist with an added quality of moral fervor which saves him from the mechanical economic fundamentalism of so many of his kind. As a foil to him there is Grebb who is in charge of labor relations for Jefferson Motors. Grebb is able and clever. He knows Marxian theory as well as labor strategy and is not portrayed as stupid and vicious as is so often the case in proletarian fiction. The book becomes melodramatic when the sadistic Black Legion and its tortures are introduced.

The author follows the party line too closely and is definitely communistic in its sympathies. It must be said that he tries to make his hero morally accountable for his choices. Nevertheless it lacks the honesty of *Citizens* and therefore fails to be convincing. Too many factors in the labor struggle are omitted. Some are heightened out of all reasonable proportion. Like so much literature of this sort, the attempt to cast all judgments into sharp categories distorts the effect and fails to persuade.

IV

The one apparent trend in American fiction is the development of the historical romance. Ever since *Gone With the Wind* these lengthy tales have been appearing in increasing numbers. They lead the Best Seller lists, and if they indicate anything, it is the desire of the public for escapist stories of a high order. With their world in chaos people apparently want to read about the heroisms and sacrifices of their forebears who believed that they had convictions worth living for and dying for. Among these many stories there are several that might be mentioned.

One is F. Van Wyck Mason's *Stars on the Sea* in which he continues the development of a Revolutionary War saga begun with his *Three Harbors*. This is the story of the beginning of the American navy and its first none too glorious victory over the British off the Bahamas. The cast of the story includes Tim Bennett, a Quaker boy who against his father's conviction joins the provincial troops at Bunker Hill but later gets to sea. Then there is his sister Desire who looks like a demure Quaker lass but whose career turns out to be like that of a French actress. In addition there is Sam Higbe the frontiersman, Nat

Coffin the poetic Harvard student turned soldier, Indians in war paint, cruel Creole dandies, British and French naval officers all mixed up in the revolutionary struggle and the slave trade. The author tells tales of slavery that make one wonder it lasted as long as it did. There is historical fidelity in the account of the battle off Charleston with the defense of Sullivan's Island by Moultrie.

All these people and these events are thrown together in melodramatic coincidence which makes very exciting reading. There are always incredibly fortuitous meetings, improbably heroic escapes and doleful tragedies. Nevertheless this is excellent story telling written in good style above a foundation of historical fact which gives the reader an interpretation of the Revolutionary War quite different from the version he learned in the grammar school history book.

Another book of the same school is *Quietly My Captain Waits*, by Evelyn Eaton. This time the struggle is between the French and the English for Arcadia. The novel is based upon long neglected material buried in the archives of Halifax, Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal. Here the action centers about Louise de Freneuse, beloved of several men, whose romance with the dashing Pierre de Bonaventure was a factor in the eventual loss of the colony to the English. The novel gives an excellent picture of the French colonies on this continent and the failure of the corrupt French court to give these heroic people support in their colonizing venture. How they had to struggle with implacable winters and even more implacable Indians to maintain their precarious foothold. That there was unbelievable devotion on the part of the Jesuit missionaries and the nuns is to be seen in the hold by the church of these regions to this very day. The story is entertaining, well written and vivid in its portrayal of the captivating Louise.

Don't You Cry For Me, by John Weld is the tale of American expansion to California and the dreadful fate of one of the wagon trains which left Independence, Missouri in high hopes only to have most of the party perish when they missed the Donner Pass. Mr. Weld bases his story upon an actual incident. The wagon train contained a mixture of all sorts of people who were "for California" and the reader is bound to marvel that such indifferent human stuff could withstand the awful rigors of such a trek. Yet these people were the types who left the relative security of the settled east for one reason or another, were forced to discover a certain spirit of interdependence in the face of their common danger and yet remained the pioneer individualists whose intrepid daring soon brought a continent to their

service. They were lawless, greedy, pathetic, brave, human; and the miracle is that out of such humanity civilizations develop and ordered communities come into being.

V

Then there is one book which I should like to include in this list simply because it is such a perfect little gem. Robert Nathan's *Portrait of Jennie* is another of those stories which he writes with such artless skill that the reader is never aware of its supreme craftsmanship. This is the tender tale of two people so destined for one another that even time itself cannot keep them apart. Eben Adams, an impecunious artist whose true capacity was thwarted only because nothing had really roused it, meets Jennie, a little girl. She tells him about her parents and he realizes that they had been dead long before she was born. He paints her in a little sketch which sells immediately. So, unannounced, she appears upon occasion, growing up all the while much faster than he does. He knows she is a spirit yet he is not afraid of her; knows it, yet he loves her. When she has grown up into a young woman he paints her portrait and it brings him fame. When she finally does catch up with him in age under the saddest circumstances, all time—the past, the present and the future—seem to meet in a focus of meaning and feeling.

Mr. Nathan's style is so limpid and his stories are so lovely. Jennie may be a spirit but her character is as definite as though it were drawn in an etching and as true as though she were painted in oil. She is described one day skating on the lake in Central Park and the overtones of the scene seem to bring all the mystery of the great city and the spirits of a little girl and a young artist into an instant of creative power that stirs all the depths of one's imagination and all the sensitivity of one's truest nature. It forces one to the truth of Eben Adams' statement, "Sooner or later God asks his question: 'Are you for me, or against me?'" And the artist must have some answer, or feel his heart break for what he cannot say."

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CONTEMPORARY BOOKS

PROPER TENSIONS BETWEEN NATURE AND REDEMPTION

FORGIVENESS, by PAUL LEHMANN. *Harper and Brothers*, \$2.00.

FOR Professor Lehmann, as for Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, who writes an introduction to his book, forgiveness is "the central issue of Christian theology." Since it is so central and so different from other issues, the author believes that it should be treated as a paradox, an "unheard-of miracle" as Paul Althaus calls it, and should not be watered down or philosophically diluted to the point where it becomes comparable with beliefs based on reason.

To show what forgiveness can mean, the author contrasts the interpretations offered by Ritschl and Barth. Ritschl rescued the idea of forgiveness from the rationalistic pantheists of the Enlightenment, but his dependence on Kant led him to stress the capacities of the human will in such a way that revelation was brought in only as an afterthought. Ritschl sees that man needs forgiveness but he does not see that, in his own theology, it is man who forgives himself. Thus Ritschl must be put down as a forerunner of liberal humanism. Barth remedies this defect by proclaiming a situation in which God and man exist "in radical contradiction" and in which each trace of God's dependence on man is removed. God decides, judges, condemns, and God alone forgives.

The author's sympathies are clearly with Barth, but he credits Ritschl with one positive contribution. In any religion of redemption the real problem is that of the relation of the redeeming process to the process which is nature. By emphasizing creation equally with redemption Ritschl brings out the fact that the man who is redeemed is one with the man who is in the world; so that continuity between grace and nature is established. Barth, on the other hand, suffers from what seems to be an increasing inability to deal with this question of continuity. Theologically he moves more and more toward the idea of a God who is so far above nature that it is difficult to see how he can interest himself in human affairs. Yet at the same time Barth takes an increasingly active part in politics, shown, for example, in his letter to Professor Hromadka. Professor Lehmann is clear that Protestantism must save itself from rationalism by adopting Ritschl's interest in the historical and concrete, but he believes that the Barthian view of faith as logically absurd but paradoxically necessary, must also be kept. A true understanding of what is implied in the dynamic Protestant idea of forgiveness will reveal the "proper tensions" between creation and redemption and will provide the needed solution.

One puts down a book of this sort with the feeling that theologians need not only the forgiveness of God for their many sins but also the forgiveness of their colleagues for the special sin of misunderstanding and needless con-

troversy. Perhaps the time has come for liberals and Barthians alike to confess their faults and to refrain from attempting to set forth positions which by now have become familiar. On the liberal side, it would be easy to dismiss this book as "dogmatism," but what seems to be needed is rather an effort to understand and appreciate the genuine attempt which it makes to restore the power and the sense of urgency of the older Protestant tradition. As a matter of fact, Lehmann's attempt along these lines is in many ways more persuasive than that of Barth himself.

On the other hand, one cannot help wishing that the author had accepted the imputation of dogmatism a little less easily and had shown more clearly why he tried to be persuasive about a dogma which as he says cannot be made persuasive in the sense of reasonable. What the liberal really needs from the pen of the Barthian is not another catalogue of the moral faults of liberalism—it will be better if he prepares this himself—but a discussion of the intellectual method which the Barthian adopts and recommends to others. The liberal must admit that where he meant to be a humble follower of the truth he may have been, as the Barthian says, an arrogant believer in a humanity which defies its Creator. Will the Barthian agree also that he has not been wholly clear in his description to others of the revelation which for him stands in its own right?

J. S. BIXLER.

THE MAGNIFICENT QUEST

THE SEARCH FOR THE REAL JESUS, by CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN. *Charles Scribner's Sons*, \$2.50.

THERE are three or four outstanding accounts of the history of research in the life of Jesus. Albert Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* is perhaps the best known. H. Weinelt and A. G. Widgery's *Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After* is another. The late M. J. Lagrange wrote one, from the Catholic point of view: *The Meaning of Christianity* (Longmans, 1920). These books all testify to the widespread interest in the subject. Dr. McCown has now given us a work which belongs on the same shelf with these earlier books, and is in fact their superior. Schweitzer's and Weinelt's works closed with the end of the nineteenth century: the "And After" of the English translation of the latter represents the supplement. But Dr. McCown's book comes down to today. It is interestingly written, with a considerable amount of biographical material; valuable because the background and the biography of most critics had much to do with their criticism. It recounts "a century of historical study," and opens with David Friedrich Strauss and the furor caused by his *Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (1835-36).

The tragedy of Strauss's own life which resulted from his skepticism and his temerity makes clear the seriousness of the change from dogmatism to free-

dom in research which this century has witnessed. No doubt we owe something to men like Strauss, who challenged the dominion of the "old faith" in this area; and no doubt the debt should be acknowledged, little as we may share the "dogmatic liberalism" which too often took its place. Yet it is a great pity that Strauss was not less meagerly equipped for his task. His philosophical presuppositions (mainly Hegelian) were of little help for a sound interpretation of history; while his technical historical skill was more or less limited to a schooling in Niebuhr's criticism of Livy, mediated by F. C. Baur at the Lower Evangelical Seminary in Blaubeuren. Of all historians, that it had to be Livy! No wonder if Strauss came to question everything, and saw "myths" grow on every bush. The criticism of Livy was poor preparation for the criticism of the New Testament. And yet the very violence of Strauss's reaction set forth the issues more clearly than would otherwise have been the case. But his term, "myth," included too much—for example much that today we describe as legend, and account for as the growth of tradition. But his purpose was, partly at least, to discredit the revived allegorism and 'euhemerism' of the time; and he never doubted, apparently, that whatever of value was dissolved in the acid of criticism would crystallize once more as reasonable, i.e., philosophical, Hegelian "faith." Religious history might accordingly be reduced to an account of the rise and spread of myths; religious faith would survive in the triumph of the pure "idea" of Christianity.

Dr. McCown's book recounts the long struggle of criticism to free itself from Hegelianism and from philosophical predilections in general. Despite the real services of Strauss and Baur in drawing attention to "three factors of Gospel criticism which should never afterward have been forgotten: the importance of the legend—and myth-making instinct, the influence of current 'tendencies,' and the unhistorical character of the fourth Gospel" (p. 98), their limitations were much too great to permit them to advance New Testament criticism appreciably. Their methods were too faulty: their "historical dialectic" of thesis, antithesis, synthesis; their rigid either-or logic; and their preoccupation with the history of ideas and their failure to use a true historical method—in brief, their use of the Gospels as historical sources, was faulty; and they lacked adequate knowledge of the historical setting of the life of Jesus and the rise of Christianity (pp. 100f). Hence Hegelianism soon passed into oblivion, as far as New Testament research went, and a more adequate method took its place.

After these first hundred pages, which set the stage, Dr. McCown proceeds to trace the search for critical methods of historical study, for trustworthy sources, and for a historical interpretation. The opening chapter of Part III, entitled "Historical Science and Gospel Criticism," is one that all students of New Testament should take seriously to heart. It is of course a question if many persons really are qualified for the task of historical interpretation. An eminent contemporary historian recently hazarded the estimate that not

three persons in a hundred are capable of a historical view of any subject—and this not for lack of knowledge, but of the ability to set their data in perspective and see fact in true interrelation. But at least let us hope we may have fewer novelists' lives of Christ, of the kind to which the "average reader" has been subjected from Papini to Hall Caine! Even if "the assured results of criticism" are not extensive in quantity, the only possibility of progress lies in that direction, not in self-exploiting impressionism.

The surveys that follow—Ritschlianism, Liberalism (Harnack), Thoroughgoing Eschatology (Schweitzer), the religio-historical approach of R. Otto, the Social Gospel—are well balanced, accurate, and interesting. Incidental criticisms (e.g. of G. F. Moore's *Judaism*, on p. 138) will be keenly appreciated by all alert students who take McCown for a guide to the modern study of the life of Jesus. Regarding Moore's work, however, is it so certain that "normative" Judaism, which Moore set out to describe, included the apocalyptic movement? (See also p. 142.—Incidentally, Moore's title is not "Judaism in the First Three Centuries . . .") And may it not be, also, that Form Criticism has more positive results to show than negative, even thus early? The criticism of Schweitzer is penetrating. Let me quote the conclusion of the chapter (xiii) on "The Jesus of the Clouds: Attempts to Read the Mind of Jesus." The two paragraphs also illustrate the style and quality of the whole work—which is extraordinarily readable, from the first page to the last.

It must be admitted that the pictures which both Schweitzer and Otto draw of Jesus make large drafts on the prosaic Western imagination. The Occidental who would understand Jesus must put himself into a completely different atmosphere from that which Jeans, Eddington, Millikan, and Whitehead breathe, into the atmosphere of the *Arabian Nights*, Ahikar, and the apocalypses. In that atmosphere the rugged inexplicability of Jesus' messianic claims melts into intelligibility as, in the distance, pastel shades soften the roughness of Palestine's rocky hillsides. In Jesus the vividness and plasticity of ancient, Oriental myth was combined with the spiritual element which Otto has emphasized.

Unfortunately, we shall never be able to learn exactly what Jesus' eschatology was, since the views of his earlier followers have unconsciously modified their reports of his sayings. But, much as we should like to know, in order to set at rest the endless discussion of the subject, for practical religious reasons it is better that we do not know. For it is not the program, but the ethical attitudes and the spiritual dynamic of Jesus which are religiously valuable. Since we do not know Jesus' views, mistaken idolatry cannot elevate them into laws for his followers. We can put modern social science into our conception of the creation of the new age as we put physical and biological science into the creation of the universe. As Schweitzer says and illustrates in his own life, Jesus is an authority, for our wills even if not for our intellects. . . . The famous preacher and essayist, the "gloomy dean," William Ralph Inge, once described Schweitzer's *Quest* as "a production which I am old-fashioned enough to think blasphemous." The next year Inge went to Saint Paul's and an eventual K.C.V.O. Schweitzer went to Africa—and sainthood (pp. 256f.).

The chapter (xiv) on "The Carpenter of Nazareth: The Search for a Social Jesus" is what we should expect from the author of *The Genesis of the*

Social Gospel (1929) and of the remarkable essay in the recent Festschrift in honor of Professor Rall (*Theology and Modern Life*, ed. by P. A. Schilpp).

The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is that which is reached from other approaches to the problem of interpreting the Gospels. Jesus left no commands which are to be literally obeyed. Not even his words regarding divorce or nonresistance are such. In his words and in his life he gave a magnificent illustration of how a son of God should meet the most difficult conditions. The "scientific" view of the world, the cosmology of his contemporaries, which he shared, was wrong. The social, economic, and political conditions he faced were very different from ours. Therefore the methods by which we may hope for the realization of God's will on earth will be very different from his. It is not, however, an unhistorical modernization to say that the ideal, nevertheless, remains the same. If anyone today wishes to be a son of the Father in whom Jesus believed, he will exhibit the same unwavering faith in righteousness, the same absolute devotion, the same unlimited selflessness, and the same thoroughly revolutionary temper. No Christian can be satisfied with things as they are (p. 273).

And so we come down to today, with our confused and divergent outlooks and our too common pessimism. Yet there has been gain, and the outlook for a genuinely historical reconstruction and interpretation of the teaching and the historical figure of Jesus is not unpromising. More help will come, perhaps, from archeology. And meanwhile the Social Gospel is emerging once more from its temporary eclipse by "consistent" eschatology. There are many other fine things in the book, too many to list in this review. The reader will easily find them for himself in a choice work which no one should miss who is at all interested in its great subject.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

PSYCHOANALYSIS UNDER DESTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

THE SUCCESSFUL ERROR: A CRITICAL STUDY OF FREUDIAN PSYCHOANALYSIS, by RUDOLF ALLERS. *Sheed and Ward*, \$3.00.

PSYCHOANALYSIS is not merely, as has been contended even by Roman Catholics, a good method based on a bad philosophy. It is a naturalistic, materialistic, monistic, hedonistic, deterministic, impersonalistic, instinctivistic, biologicistic, subjectivistic, associationistic, energistic, genetistic, evolutionistic, scientistic and creedistic heresy, a "physics of mental facts." Of the use of some of these barbarous "istics" the author is innocent; but the sentence is an accurate and nearly complete summary of his intent.

Dr. Allers, now Professor of Psychology at the Catholic University in Washington, was formerly a teacher of psychiatry at the Universities of Vienna and Munich. He is perhaps the foremost Roman Catholic writer in the field of the psychology of personality in the world today. His former works suggest that he has been, therapeutically speaking, more of a follower of Alfred Adler than of any one else. A previous brief volume in English, *The New Psychologies*, 1938, was devoted largely to an attack upon psychoanalysis. That attack was neither so extended nor so devastating as that of the present volume.

He is perhaps best known for his *The Psychology of Character*, published in English in 1936 and in German in 1929. That is a suggestive book which should be known to the serious student of personality, regardless of his faith.

The Successful Error attempts to knock every prop from under psychoanalysis, both as a theory and as a method. It is not intended, declares the author, to offer in this volume something to take its place. The purpose here is purely critical. "The more intimate I have become with psychoanalysis and its problems the less favorable that opinion has become."

The volume opens with a presentation of the basic ideas of psychoanalysis from the point of view of "logic," or the inherent necessity of one idea's following another once the first is accepted. There follow three philosophical chapters offering a critique of the basic notions and axioms. Then comes an account of psychoanalysis in relation to psychology, to medicine, to ethnology, to education, and to religion. A special chapter is devoted to psychoanalytic method. A long chapter deals with the place of psychoanalysis in the history of human thought. The concluding summary might better be called a warning to Roman Catholics and any one else who will listen, to beware of any contact with psychoanalysis or psychoanalysts.

The whole theoretical structure of psychoanalysis, says the author, is based on axioms which are untrue. These axioms might be paraphrased somewhat as follows. Freud made supposed psychological facts out of physiological analogies—hence biologism. He assumed the reality of this fact-for-analogy substitution especially in relation to mental energy—hence energism. He assumed that mental processes are strictly determined—hence determinism. He assumed that all mental phenomena derive from instincts—hence instinctualism. He believed that human mental development in history could be explained by individual mental evolution—hence evolutionarism. He believed that free associations lead back to the "real" cause of mental phenomena—hence geneticism or reductionism.

It is relatively easy to go to town on the axioms and philosophy of Freud. That road is so well charted by former disciples, psychologists, psychiatrists, philosophers, educators and churchmen that the only task left is to pave it. The paving is done here with Scholastic cobblestones and, one suspects, occasionally with a few glass bricks. Karen Horney, a psychoanalyst herself, recently created a sensation in psychoanalytic circles by the publication of her *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*, which also excoriated a good deal of Freud's philosophy but which made a careful assessment of his permanent contributions. Psychoanalysts are divided on the issues of that book, and many resent what they feel is a personal anti-Freud note on the part of the author. But her message is essentially constructive, a kind of call to repentance coupled with an assurance of forgiveness. Dr. Allers mentions Dr. Horney favorably, but apparently considers her claim to remaining a psychoanalyst ridiculous.

To consider briefly but a single issue, Dr. Allers condemns psychoanalysis for its strict determination of psychic processes because: this eliminates free will; it allows for only one type of causation, efficient causation; it emphasizes intensity as a feature of mental facts; it is mechanistic and materialistic. Now as a matter of fact this psychoanalytic tenet does none of these things necessarily, though in the hands of some analysts (perhaps including Freud himself) it may seem to do so. There is a real difference between free will, e.g., in the practical sense and in the metaphysical sense; but Scholastic philosophy begins with "real" absolutes, and may be accused of a kind of *petitio principii* in its dealing with such pragmatically useful concepts as the strict determination of mental processes. Dr. Horney upholds the pragmatic concept.

But the other part of the book's thesis is more daring. Psychoanalytic method or practice is as bad as the theory. To prove this, it is necessary to make several assumptions. First, therapeutic successes do not prove theory—true in a metaphysical sense only. Second, free association as used implies elementarism or reductionism—this is true only of some analysts. Third, interpretation of theory is so mixed with practice that the patient is forced to accept the theory or quit—sometimes true but not necessarily so. Fourth, psychoanalysis has produced results in general only with psychoneurotic people, who are very different both from psychotics and from normal persons—almost all psychiatry for thirty years has been trying to break down these rigid distinctions. Fifth, methods other than Freudian produce better therapeutic results than psychoanalysis—this means only work done on a different theoretical basis.

Obviously the whole problem here is what constitutes method, the definition of which seems to be one of Dr. Allers' glass bricks. As a matter of fact, what has been happening to psychoanalysis presents a very different picture from that of the author. Its practice has increasingly been adaptable to the "real needs" of the patient as religion, even Roman Catholicism, might recognize them. But partly out of veneration for the achievements of the then still-living Freud, partly from the fact that physicians are usually too busy saving human lives to have much time for philosophy, the restatement of psychoanalytic theory in terms of a more adequate philosophy has been lagging. Although Horney and others have made real steps in that direction, the tendency has been to overdo it when it has been done at all. But it must be done by psychoanalysts themselves, and with less emotion and more depth. Yet there is nothing essential in psychoanalysis which forbids its being done.

This book may be ignored by psychoanalysts, and perhaps with justice. But it carries a warning to them strangely like that which Protestantism gives to Roman Catholicism. You may develop into a cult of totalitarian proportions if you wish, which will put you either on top or at the bottom. But if you revise some of your bases in terms which are more sensitive to specific human

needs, you will grow less absolutistic but more useful. Psychoanalysis does need some new elements and bases in its philosophical theory. Some of us suspect that Scholasticism does too.

SEWARD HILTNER.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN FAITHS

THE AUTHORITY OF THE FAITH, *The Madras Series, Vol. 1, International Missionary Council*, \$1.50.

LIVING RELIGIONS AND A WORLD FAITH, *Hibbert Lectures by WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, The Macmillan Company*, \$2.50.

A CENTRAL concern for Christianity is its relation to other faiths. To understand this relation is to know the essence of Christianity itself. Not to understand it is to suffer a paralytic vagueness both at home and abroad.

Of utmost importance, therefore, are these two basic works on the subject. Both have this in common that they repudiate that liberalism which, lacking a clear principle of exclusion, failed or refused to see sharp differences between religions. Religion is more than an aspect of culture, and faith is not to be equated with relative ideals inapplicable outside a particular historical situation. Religion, writes Kraemer, is a matter of ultimate decision; of, says Hocking, cosmic passion. Both reject the numbing relativism of sociological humanism.

With respect to the relation of Christianity to non-Christian faiths, however, Hocking and the several authors of *The Authority of the Faith* differ considerably. Although few of the positions can be adequately confined within the Hocking scheme, nevertheless, his classification: radical displacement, synthesis, and reconception, may serve as a general background. With respect to the first of these, Kraemer, of course, stresses discontinuity as the basic relation. Boldly he rejects all general revelation in the interest of the one unique and absolute revelation in Jesus Christ. And this revelation is not truth but rather God's concrete activity in the "Christ-deed." His stress on the distinctiveness of God's revelation in Jesus is indeed needful, but unfortunately his interpretation suffers from a false dichotomy between arbitrary ultimates: God and man, continuity and discontinuity, truth and activity. Besides, Christianity has a principle of inclusion as well as exclusion. What implications, moreover, has his theology if approached at home in the light of the individual? If human nature is by itself completely evil, do we then need something like the Roman Catholic doctrine of baptism? Without such a doctrine do we not condemn entirely religious education and the inclusive church? Are we not left, therefore, with conversion and the intensive form of church membership as the exclusive Christian approach? Hartenstein, also, basing his argument on the idea that the Bible speaks of communities as totalities saved or unsaved, passes "the sentence of death on the religious world . . . of the gentiles."

An instructive chapter on the nature of religious truth is that by Moses, who claims basic agreement with Kraemer's position. His main position, however, namely that faith is "reasonable belief"—not, to be sure, antecedent but consequent to revelation in history—that religious truth is that which satisfies the religious need to preserve moral value by a cosmic guarantee, goes ill with his Kraemerian view of history as essentially non-repeatable, as action rather than truth. To make a complete break between reason and history in the name of a complete severance between universals and particulars is to become both philosophically and theologically inadequate. In a very important sense history is a continuum of truth and is not "unamenable to rational determination." Moses' chapter is, on the whole, so good that one regrets his seemingly needless resorting to this measure of irrationalism.

Others believe in the synthesis of religions. With synthesis is meant, not that one religion may not be more ultimate than all others, but that God has revealed himself in all religions and that they therefore have certain values which can be taken over into the final faith. Chao, Hogg, and Reichelt, despite a sure sense of the absoluteness and uniqueness of the Christian faith, find this not contrary to but conservative of the true values in other religions. Chao presents a well balanced Christian theology with a sensitiveness to the meaning of history and fellowship which plumbs the depths of Christianity. It is interesting to observe his almost Augustinian Christology, according to which Jesus reveals God both by his very nature and by his exemplary moral achievement. Chao's view of the church is a missionary manifesto in itself. Perhaps the most comprehensively adequate treatise is by Hogg, who differentiates between the universal activity of God in all religions and the human content of faith. Christianity is to him a unique, final religion which, appreciative of all good everywhere, is not arbitrarily incommensurate but capable of appealing directly to human experience for confirmation of its truth. His illustrative use of the Christian family breathes the very spirit of Christian faith.

Reichelt writes about the Johannine approach with a genuine spirit of Christian charity. One wonders, however, whether there is not a historic principle of exclusion within the Christian faith which ought to be made stronger even from his own approach. "This is the condemnation. . . ." Horton is a split personality between Hocking and Kraemer. With his usual power of writing he makes a distinct contribution by his graphic, biographical presenting of the problem. He is moving, too, in the right direction; for any adequate solution must finally be found neither in continuity nor in discontinuity, but in the understanding of the right relation between them.

Hocking indicates his own position by a new term: reconception. With this he means the progressive understanding of the essence of one's own religion by the study of other religions. These other religions can reveal what is contingent in one's own faith. Reconception is the growth in sameness, not the accretive

inclusion of alien elements into a synthesis, however organic. When all religions try co-operatively to meet humanity's passion for righteousness and the spread of righteousness with a cosmic guarantee (Hocking's definition of religion), the final world faith will emerge; not by conquest, but by its own inherent worth, by its intrinsic value best to satisfy the needs of the world in all respects because it possesses the most reality and truth. Both experience and the history of the world prove Christianity to be this religion, because precisely what the world is seeking, Christianity for nearly two thousand years has possessed as "clarified anticipation." Christianity, too, has passed far beyond the other religions in its relation to the problems of modernity: for instance its relation to scientific method or to historic criticism. Yet Christianity is not yet ready to serve as the world religion. It needs to learn from other religions such indisputable values as the sense of God's majesty from Islam, of "intensive humanity" from Confucianism, of reflectiveness from Hinduism, and of impersonalism from Buddhism. Christianity has also failed to solve the problems of civilization which must be met before it can become an adequate world religion. When it has done so, however, the local religions can remain as particular expressions of the world faith. The one true religion is not actualized in universal uniformity, but realized in a wealth of historic varieties. The "scandal of plurality" is of the rational mind, not of historic occurrence.

The reviewer is unable more than to indicate the richness of Hocking's book, especially of the last two chapters. Hocking faces the central issue in the relation of religion and the religions with the confident assertion that revelation is "luminous" and not "opaque," and that Christianity is real enough not to need to dread the test of experiential verification. His suggestion as to a new missionary method built upon the idea that a patient, thorough, common search for the deepest religious truth on the part of the most devoted and best trained leaders of all religions cannot help finding the Christian Gospel, shows a great faith in its ultimacy. This, of course, ought to supplement rather than exclude the present method of evangelism to the common people. After all, Christianity began that way. His insistence on the value in the local religions must be taken seriously, for many are now recognizing the danger of external conversion without cultural continuity.

The reviewer must admit considerable perplexity, however, as to the meaning of reconception. When all religions understand each other, will the final process be displacement or synthesis? If universal religions have different essences and Christianity will supply the final essence, now potentially present, does this, then, not involve radical displacement? The difference seems to be in method only. Or does Hocking actually mean that all religions have the same essence when correctly understood, that they are all potentially Christianity, so that neither synthesis nor radical displacement is necessary? But whatever the essence of religion *per se* may be, does not the historic revelation

of Christianity reveal the crucial inadequacy of the historic non-Christian faiths? The reviewer finds the fundamental question still unanswered.

One reason for this lack may be the Kantian emphasis in Hocking's definition of religion, in spite of his sense for community. A solution seems possible if religion instead be defined as man's concern for fellowship and the super-human conditions which make it possible. This definition provides a basis for comparison. If Christianity be then defined as a God-given, God-centered freedom and faithfulness in fellowship, based on the kind of love first fully revealed in Jesus Christ, Christianity has a metaphysical source and standard, a firm historic foundation, a basis of comparison with a definite principle of both inclusion and exclusion, and an unlimited capacity for historic variety in the Spirit of Christ. That Hocking may be arriving at such an idea was indicated when in a recent address he declared that the central word in religion is fellowship. The uniqueness and absoluteness of the Christian fellowship is both a matter of historic revelation and of firmly founded faith. The passion for its realization, for the missionary enterprise everywhere, demands inevitably both faith and life, and is the surest gauge of our own understanding and accepting the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

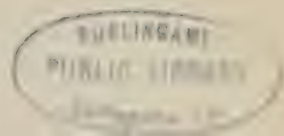
NELS F. S. FERRÉ.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS TRENDS REVIEWED

RELIGION YESTERDAY AND TODAY, by HENRY SLOANE COFFIN. *Cokesbury Press*, \$1.75.

IT is not difficult to reconstruct the processes out of which this book was produced. The author is one of the gifted preachers and educators of our day who has been in the main stream of liberal evangelical Protestantism. When faced with the obligation of a series of lectures on two important foundations he began his ruminations on the problem of materials. He had participated actively in a vital section of the American church during one of the most interesting periods in the history of Western Christianity. He wisely decided that the best contribution he could make would be to trace the important trends in American Protestantism during his own lifetime. He therefore set a date line for the starting point of his analysis, at about 1890, which was a few years prior to his own college and seminary training. However, he did not depend upon his own reflections, for he read again the extensive literature of the fifty year period and annotated it carefully. Having done this he isolated the six trends which he desired to trace as follows: First, the conflict over the evolutionary science; second, the divine immanence and the tendency toward humanism; third, Biblical criticism; fourth, the emphasis on religious experience; fifth, the developing social conscience; and sixth, the work and meaning of the church.

It is difficult to exaggerate the finesse and artistry of these chapters. These trends in the life of the church are not presented as mere academic tendencies



but as living struggles of passionate and powerful personalities. Dr. Coffin contrives to give to each chapter a sense of dramatic movement and practical climax. The result makes a stirring book.

The method of each lecture is well illustrated by the first on the conflict over evolutionary science. The author shows how liberal Protestantism was prepared by the preaching of Henry Ward Beecher and others to accept the new scientific views as not uncongenial to Christianity. He analyzes the work of Henry Drummond the harmonizer of science and religion, of John Fiske who would find God through nature, and of Lyman Abbott who dogmatically expounded an evolutionary theology. He indicates the ethical implications of carrying over the evolutionary categories into the field of the social sciences and making "the survival of the fittest" a sanction for both predatory industrialism and national imperialism. This tendency to identify God with the cosmic process had its challengers. Arthur Balfour pointed out that the concepts of science were as anthropomorphic as those of religion. William James questioned whether science held the spiritual meanings claimed for it. George A. Gordon was cautious about accepting such a limited conception of deity. The controversy has quieted down. The scientists and religionists have mutually agreed that there are two paths to reality, namely the scientific method of tentatively seeking, measuring, and restating truth, and the religious way of making a full affirmation of a Reality which by its very nature is not subject to the classifying analysis of the scientist.

In the lecture on the "Divine Immanence" the author points out that the period in question was one of such rapid expansion of man-made tools and wealth that a tendency arose to trade off the Sovereign God of Calvinism for a God identified with the human process. It was an expression of man's self-confidence which reached its natural climax in the humanism of the twenties. We are warned that under the shattering influence of the depression and war we are likely to as hastily and uncritically accept a Deity identified with the dialectic movement of history. The fourth lecture indicates that these same forces of human self-assurance coupled with the study of psychology led to the rewriting of theology with an exaggerated emphasis on "Religious Experience."

The chapter on Biblical criticism traces the familiar lines of the controversy and points out the paradox that, while the scholars were getting more light on the Scriptures the common people were permitting the Bible to drop out of their own experiences. The study of the social impact of Christianity, in the fifth lecture, leads to a wholesome discussion of the spiritual basis for Democracy.

The last chapter on the church may be the least important in content but it is the most sobering in its challenge. The author discusses religious education, church music, worship, and architecture. He treats of the rising ecu-

menical movement with insight. And then comes the question mark. The Protestantism of Yesterday was aggressive with "movements," "advances," and "revivals." The Protestantism of Today seems to be on the defensive. This is a fatal strategy, says the author. "Age after age, the church has found its life by losing it. A defensive policy is suicidal." But what is this new strategy of offense to be? Is it to be a strategy based on a reasonable estimate of our resources and a fair appraisal of future difficulties? Such a rational strategy would be in line with our liberal tradition. Or is it to be a strategy of faith—perhaps a weird faith of an apocalypse—in which the church moves blindly forward in a self-forgetful abandonment of spiritual commitment?

C. E. LEMMON.

THE KIERKEGAARD RENAISSANCE

THE POINT OF VIEW, by SÖREN KIERKEGAARD. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Oxford University Press, \$2.50.

CHRISTIAN DISCOURSES, by SÖREN KIERKEGAARD. Translated with an introduction by Walter Lowrie. Oxford University Press, \$6.00.

WE stand deeply in the debt of Walter Lowrie for his indefatigable efforts to bring to our attention the work of the great Danish thinker, Søren Kierkegaard. In his book *Our Concern With the Theology of Crisis*, published in 1932, Lowrie printed a bibliography of all the books written by Kierkegaard or about Kierkegaard in German and in English up to that year. In German there were then twenty-four works of Kierkegaard in translation, and fifty-six books written about him. In English there was but one small volume, *Selections from Søren Kierkegaard*, translated by Hollander and published in 1923 as the University of Texas Bulletin No. 2326. Commenting at that time upon "this accusing bibliography," Lowrie said, "In publishing it I call attention to our shame and summon those who are competent to do so to make amends for it. The only amend now possible to me is this accusing bibliography. But for what reason have we so many universities? Is it to insure that studious youths shall be shielded from all contact with contemporary thought?" Since then Walter Lowrie has done more than any other man in the English-speaking world to bring to an end our shameful ignorance of one of the greatest figures in the history of human letters, whose message goes more to the heart of our generation than that of any thinker in the last hundred years.

The two volumes under review belong to the transition period in Kierkegaard's work. Both were written in 1848, the year regarded by the Danish writer as the most productive in his life. During Holy Week of that year he passed through a profound experience, about which he wrote in his Journal, "My whole nature is changed. I must speak." Before that time his writings had been mostly aesthetic in character and had appeared under diverse

pseudonyms. In 1848 Kierkegaard broke into authorship on definitely religious topics and under his own name. The question very naturally arose in the minds of the public why the famous writer should now deal directly with religion? Was it because of a natural psychological development? Was he turning to religion now that the bloom of youth was gone? Kierkegaard felt the necessity of proving that he had been a religious writer all along. His vindication of this fact he embodied in *The Point of View*.

In this, the most self-revealing of all his works, Kierkegaard makes clear that his early literary endeavors had a religious purpose. He started with the principle that, given the deadness of Christendom, any person who desired to arouse the interest of people in Christianity would have to engage in what he called "indirect communication." He would needs start from the pagan environment in which people were and, by degrees, without their knowing it, oblige them finally to confront Christian reality. He gave himself consistently as an author, he said, to the task of "stabbing them from behind." "If one is to lift a whole generation," says Kierkegaard, "verily one must know it. Hence it is that those proclaimers of Christianity who begin straight away with orthodoxy have not much influence and that only upon the few. For Christendom is very far behind. We must begin with paganism. So it was that I began with *Either-Or*." At the same time he is interested in showing that even in 1843 when "*Either-Or*," his chief aesthetic work, was published, he was already a religious writer because in that year he published *Two Edifying Discourses*. Kierkegaard's philosophy of "indirect communication," culminating in *The Point of View*, is the greatest contribution ever made to the problem of the *Aranüpfungspunkt* which Brunner discusses as "The Other Task of Theology."

Christian Discourses is a unique book. It consists of three sets of homilies on Scripture passages. A number of these deal with key thoughts of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. The lilies of the field and the birds of the air play a great part. The three closing discourses upon the great High Priest, the Publican, and the Woman who was a Sinner, were specially designed for communion occasions on Good Friday. These discourses as a whole are masterpieces of intellectual acumen and spiritual insight. In them Kierkegaard shows himself to be the preacher's preacher. They abound in striking antitheses and germinal thoughts. The dialectician, the poet, and the passionate lover of Jesus all combine to give them unique value. Here evidence abounds to substantiate the claim made for Kierkegaard, that he is the greatest religious psychologist since Augustine. He is an elemental thinker who loves the parabolic way of discourse as did our Lord and who, like his great Exemplar, spoke not mere words, but things. No one succeeds like Kierkegaard in breaking up a concept into a glittering array of facts without ever losing himself in details. The *Discourses* cannot in any sense be called light reading, yet no better de-

votional exercise can be recommended than to read several pages of them a day when the mind is fresh.

One cannot but hope that the years ahead will bring to the study of Kierkegaard an increasing number of readers. When this happens Christian thought and Christian preaching will undergo a revolutionary change, and Walter Lowrie, David Swenson and Douglas Steere, American pioneers in popularizing this prophet of discontinuity, will have had their word.

JOHN A. MACKAY.

THE MINISTRY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES

THE DOCTRINES OF MINISTERIAL ORDER IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES, *by* JAMES L. AINSLIE, *T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, \$3.50.*

THIS title decidedly does not denote a subject irrelevant to anything of current interest. Rather it introduces a phase of church policy which needs to be clearly understood by any one interested in church union. It is very evident that Dr. Ainslie had continually in mind the overtures of Episcopal churches toward churches of the Reformed tradition and the attempts of Anglo-Catholics to wean Protestantism from Protestant doctrines and practices.

One who goes back to the formative and normative period of the Reformation (for the choice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not an arbitrary one), reviewing with the author the convictions of Calvin, Cartwright, Beza, Zwingli, Knox, and Luther, could hardly hope to find any historical basis for identifying the ministry with priesthood or presbyterial government with episcopacy. Not only are Protestant forms different from Catholic, and Reformed theories from Episcopalian, but from the beginning their intentions were different. The one consecrated priests to convey grace through the sacraments; the other called ministers to convey grace through the proclamation of the Word of God. Whereas episcopacy is part of a hierarchy, carrying supernatural efficacy for the ordination of priests, the presbytery is simply a scripturally lawful body maintained to guarantee the faithful preaching of the Word.

The Reformed Churches stress the necessity for a call to the ministry, meaning by that the various steps by which the church examines, elects, and ordains a candidate. Without every part of this call, including the election and prayer of the people, ordination is not lawful. The rejection of episcopal ordination and insistence upon election by the people should bring the Reformed polity closer to Congregational than to Episcopal or Anglo-Catholic polity.

Those of us on this side of the Atlantic, though we are interested in the proposed concordat between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, are convinced that Reformed polity is more closely related to the polity of the Congregational bodies. But except for a few brief references, this book tells us very little about the sixteenth and seventeenth century contests between those of the Presby-

terian and Independent persuasions. Although the author shows little ground for union of Reformed with the Episcopal churches, he says nothing about the road which seems to be open for union with the Congregational churches. I wish he had explored the historical basis of this possibility.

A remarkable amount of documentation from the several national units of the Reformed churches brings sufficient proof that Dr. Ainslie is not theorizing about the past. In an admirable way he presents the teachings of the leaders of those formative centuries. Yet he is not so exclusively objective that his writing lacks the fire of his own inspiration and sympathy. The quotations with which the book is abundantly sprinkled are given in Latin, German, French, and even Dutch, but in every case a helpful literal translation follows. These bring to the book a richness of thought and expression which should make it not only interesting to scholars but also a source-book of succinct quotations for men who write sermons.

The topics covered include a history of the constituting of the ministerial order in the several national units. In regard to the nature of the ministry, the book outlines fully the duties and powers of the ministers, their equality, the sources of their control, the means of their admission and induction, ordination, and the intended effects of their ordination. In keeping with the author's policy of following the Reformers in their refutation of priesthood and episcopacy, he includes a chapter on apostolic succession and another on validity. An extensive bibliography completes the book.

EDWIN A. GOLDSWORTHY.

ABSOLUTE RENUNCIATION OF WAR

NON-VIOLENCE IN AN AGGRESSIVE WORLD, by A. J. MUSTE. *Harper and Brothers*, \$2.00.

THIS book is addressed to Christians and Jews, to all who seek a social order embodying justice and fraternity, and to all who believe in the democratic way of life. Its contention is: "Religion, social progress, democracy depend for survival and triumph upon the adoption of a thoroughgoing, deeply motivated, positive, realistic pacifism."

The ground for this contention is the nature of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Ultimate reality being what it is—fellowship, love, active good will—it must follow that only such methods of social reform can hope to succeed as incorporate this "divine, creative element of love"; only such institutions can hope to endure and prosper as embody this divine principle of fellowship. There is no dualism between means and end: the means employed decide the end that is actually reached. Democracy cannot be preserved by the methods of dictatorship. Justice, freedom, brotherhood, and peace cannot be prompted by an operation (war) that calls for the suppression of freedom, for the deliberate use of misleading propaganda, and for indiscriminate killing and wholesale destruction. And the truth goes even deeper than this: the final con-

demnation of dictatorship and war is to be found in the fact that they are essentially incompatible with the ultimate Reality of the world.

In the opinion of this author, who was himself, at one time, a convinced and devoted communist, the experience of Russia provides a dramatic refutation of the idea that violence can be made to serve great ends:

Lenin repeatedly warned the inner circle . . . not to make the mistake of the leaders of the French Revolution and begin to kill each other off. In effect, the Bolshevik teaching about terrorism was: "You will have to kill off some landlords and capitalists who will not voluntarily relinquish their power and prestige. You will have to shoot—liquidate—some of the richer peasants, even some workers who don't understand that the revolution is their revolution and carried out for their good. Not, of course, because you enjoy doing these things but because it is the only realistic way for a practical man to proceed in the world as it is now constituted." (Have no doubt that Bolsheviks are as honest and idealistic about these matters as good Christian people when they go to war, reluctantly, as the only "realistic" thing to do.) "But keep the violence under control. Use terrorism, but don't let it become your master. Don't make the mistake of the leaders of the French Revolution and begin killing each other off in the inner circle of the party." But this is exactly what they have come to. . . . The communistic movement, aiming at the realization of the prophetic ideal of justice, freedom, and brotherhood, has, nevertheless, become a force of evil rather than good because it succumbed to the belief that evil can overcome evil.

In consequence of his own observation and experience, the author is likewise convinced of the futility of violence in the labor movement in the United States. And he believes that the Loyalist Government in Spain might have saved something from the wreck of its initial undertaking had it resisted Franco only by non-violent means. He regards as significant the statement recently made by Salvadore da Madariaga: "As a Spaniard, I want to say in all sincerity, and having reflected on this subject during two harrowing years, that if, in the spring of 1936, the working class of Spain, led by well-meaning but uninspired leaders, had not rushed into a meaningless revolution, the military revolt would have had no chance whatever."

As to international war, Mr. Muste makes the point that it fosters a mentality that is hopelessly unrealistic. Why is it that we Americans, rightly indignant when cruel injustice is done to "poor little Belgium" or to Finland, fail to get excited over what is being done to three hundred and fifty millions in India? Why, today, are we forgetting the fact that Chiang Kai-Shek, not many years ago, was responsible for the slaughter of millions of Chinese peasants and workers? Why do we fail to see that China, even though she wins the present war, may be reduced to a condition bordering on slavery by a reactionary element of her own people which, with vast military power in its hands, may fasten upon her the most ruthless brand of capitalism to be found on earth? And why, oh why, did some of us suppose that "Munich" was a genuine attempt at peace making? War blinds men's eyes to the realities of their situation. It diverts attention from crucial problems that require to be solved. It long delays, if it does not persistently prevent, any action that may

hope to be radically redemptive. People are not likely to give serious consideration to basic issues so long as they cherish the idea that they may, at a critical moment, turn to war as a possible way out of their predicament.

Mr. Muste rejects the idea that the methods of love are inapplicable in the field of collective behavior. "It is impossible to build up a Scriptural prophetic theology which does not demand the practice of love in all the relationships of life and promise the reign of God on earth." (Read the Prophets—and Jesus!) A theology that sets limits to the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth is, he maintains, defeatist: "War will certainly not be eliminated unless men have faith that it can be, that there is another foundation than power-politics on which international relations can be built." Moreover, such a theology is bound to be reactionary: "If the world cannot be organized on the basis of fellowship anyway . . . acquiescence in the status quo becomes the attitude of the church." To believe that love is possible only in the most intimate of personal relations is to believe that, in the world of politics, economics, and international relations, "the real power is not God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who meets sin with suffering love, but Satan."

Christian pacifists are not bound to offer any quick and easy solution of staggering social problems. When a world that has disregarded every recommendation they have made—and got itself into serious trouble—turns upon them with the demand: "Now show us how, on your principles, to stop Hitler," they are not bound to perform a miracle. To be sure, pacifism should have a political, and also an economic, program. Nor can it be justly charged with being without one. (The author of this book devotes a chapter to specific recommendations for political and economic action.) But there is, of course, no easy way out of the world's predicament. Indeed, there is no way less easy than the Cross. And that may not immediately be redemptive: "The question is not whether defeat can always be avoided but whether it shall be such 'defeat' as Jesus suffered on Calvary or such defeat as he might have met if he had . . . sought to overcome Caesar by Caesar's methods." What is now imperative is that Christian pacifism should be adopted as a *way of life*, a way for the individual to live as well as for the world to take.

When the typical reformer or revolutionist proclaims the new order, he goes on to urge men to "organize, agitate, get out the vote, fight." Jesus also proclaimed: "The Kingdom of God (i.e., the revolution) is at hand," but immediately added in true prophetic fashion, "Repent!" That is to say, if we are to have a new world, we must have new men; if you want a revolution, you must be revolutionized. A world of peace will not be achieved by men who in their own souls are torn with strife and eager to assert themselves.

The Oxford Conference, having brought out the fact that Christians differ in respect of their attitude toward war, declared: "The Church cannot rest in permanent acquiescence in the continuance of these differences." Mr. Muste is quite sure that the church cannot very long maintain its present position, which sanctions both participation and non-participation in war and gives

"equal blessing" to the member who is a pacifist and to his fellow member who, acting under military orders, may "throw the former into a concentration camp or stand him against a wall and shoot him." Will the church presently withdraw its moral support from its own conscientious objectors, or will it presently renounce war absolutely? It is the judgment of the author of this book (and of this reviewer) that the church, in this crisis of humanity, must provide "an alternative to unlimited violence" or confess that it has "no real faith in its own basic doctrines of the Father-God, the centrality of love, the oneness of mankind, the sacredness of personality, the power of the spirit as against the flesh, the way of the Cross as against the way of the sword."

Non-Violence in an Aggressive World is, for me, a truly great book. It stands in my library on the same shelf with Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*, Shridharani's *War Without Violence*, MacGregor's *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism*, Huxley's *Ends and Means*, and de Lig's *The Conquest of Violence*.

ERNEST F. TITTLE.

THE CANADIAN CHURCH AND THE WAR

THE CHURCH AND THE WAR; by ARTHUR C. COCHRANE; with a letter from Karl Barth. Thomas Nelson and Sons, \$1.50.

AFTER Dr. Cochrane, Presbyterian minister in the town of Tillsonburg, Ontario, had finished his preliminary theological education in Canada, he went to Edinburgh for his doctorate in philosophy, and thence, in the early nineteen thirties, to Germany, where he came under the spell of Karl Barth. Barth was for him a kind of intellectual conversion on the Damascus road, and with the zeal of the convert he pours contempt, not on "all his pride," but on the allegedly mushy liberalism from which he had been snatched. His devotion to Barth and to the Confessional Church in their struggle with National Socialism is intense.

His book contains two forewords, one to readers in the United States and the other to readers in Canada. A personal letter from Karl Barth, dealing with the war is included and is well worth study. Dr. Cochrane had put three questions to Barth; the first concerning the justification of Britain and France in entering the war; the second asking if Switzerland, the United States and Canada should, in his opinion, remain neutral; the third—since it reflects Dr. Cochrane's ethical problem as well as his peculiar theological concern—deserves exact quotation:

If the criterion of a just State is its attitude and conduct towards the Church's proclamation of the Word of Justification, what would be the criterion of a just State when the Church was not preaching the Word of Justification, when the Church was merely "a loyal part of the British Empire," and was proclaiming democratic ideals and identifying them with Christianity?

Dr. Cochrane writes the book because, he says, the Canadian churches, in supporting the Government in the war, have not so far given reasons which are theological or Biblical. Now, at the very outset, few Canadians doubted the justification of the British cause; what did trouble them was the question of pacifism—was war and the use of violence in war ever justifiable? A good deal of Scripture and some theology was tossed around in the controversy; but it was not, one must admit, Dr. Cochrane's brand of theology nor his brand of Scriptural interpretation. He is such a Barthian that when he speaks of the true and Holy Catholic Church it is clear that he means the company of Barthians while the rest of us—liberals, humanitarians, semi-judaisers and Roman Catholics are obviously apostates.

He feels that the war is a just war and that we here in Canada are justly in it and that the real Barthian church should say "yes" to this conflict. But, he says, we must "yes" in quite a different manner from Jews, Roman Catholics, imperialists, humanists and pagan upholders of democracy (sic!). Most Jews do have their own very good reasons for saying "yes." The Roman Catholics probably have their own reasons too—they so often do. The Imperialists and the British-Israelites we can understand. Possibly the humanists and the "pagan upholders of democracy" are influenced by some remotely Christian arguments; but in general they tend to uphold this war because they do not like what the Nazis have been trying to do to humanity, to civilization, to Christianity (Barthian and non-Barthian), to the spirit of man, and to themselves, and because, having tried to live peaceably with them (see Romans 12:18), and to dissuade them from murder, rapine, spiritual domination, they have found that the only course left open was war. In short, their absolutes are *the absolutes of sheer human decency*.

Dr. Cochrane, on the other hand, justifies the participation of the church on the ground that National Socialism does not permit the true Barthian church to proclaim its particular method of justification. "The State" he says, "will be unmasked as a just or unjust State concretely in its relation to Jesus Christ, i.e., to the preaching of the Word of Justification through Christ" (p. 3).

Well, well! A state can condone murder, adultery, legalized theft, rapine but it remains a just state if it lets the Barthians talk about justification through Christ without interruption. Presumably, the reverse must also be true, viz., that no state is a just state which permits any other kind of doctrinal teaching. Perhaps, indeed, logic would lead us to take the position, then, that we must never make war against a nation which does permit the Barthians to express themselves! He also objects to National Socialism because it has converted itself into a church, though a false one. I agree that it has sought to usurp the place of religion, but must the Christian church endorse any war against every state that seeks its own apotheosis, for example, Japan?

But forgetting that, and even admitting for the sake of the argument that the church might for those reasons approve the war, should she approve a war waged with mighty weapons—Messerschmidts, torpedo-boat destroyers, tanks weighing eighty tons, flame-throwers—war that destroys child life as well as seasoned soldiers, slow starvation of the innocent? Dr. Cochrane has a chapter on the weapons of the church, and he suggests the “shield of faith,” “the sword of the spirit,” “prayer and fasting.” So it is to be a nice, Christian war after all! Even heretical, pacifistic non-Barthians will participate unreservedly on that basis. What troubles *them* and disturbs their theological views is the fact that they may have to drop bombs on the heads of innocent children who don’t even know that God is the great Unknowable and that only through the Word of God are we justified from sin! In this book, the martial music of the first few pages, calling us to Armageddon, fades out into a kind of heavenly reverie. All we can do with assurance seems to be to pray for those who are in peril on the Barthian seas.

This book is not at all typical of the thought of Canadian church leaders. But it is undoubtedly an honest and vigorous book, deserving to be read despite its grievous shortcomings, because it reveals a man who, if he will mix some practical experience in the very field of social service which he so unintelligently derides with his moments of intimation from the “Word of God,” will some day write books on theology which may be read not only in his native country but in whatever is left of Europe. He has all the instincts for fine scholarship and keen dialectic, except an understanding of reality. He runs up and down his ideological treadmill like a squirrel, getting nowhere, even when he seems tremendously vital. He needs to know life, real life, not mere theories; he needs to know people not as the ideological creations of a transcendent God but *as people*, to mellow his thoughts and to *humanize* his life.

Barth is a valuable drug in the theological pharmacopoeia. But it should be taken straight and preferably as concocted by Barth himself. Semi-doses mixed by some of Barth’s disciples may, theologically speaking, only cause upset stomachs and general nausea. The tragedy of the German Church is not that it refused to listen to Barth. The kind of defeatism inherent in his mode of thought became dominant in Germany immediately after the treaty of Versailles and the Weimar constitution. Barth, after his own disillusionment with socialism, crystallized that defeatism and gave it dialectic power. So, in a day when the whole fabric of the social order was being torn asunder, the half-paralyzed, pietistic German Church whimpered “only God can help,” stuck its head in the arid sands, turned its back against every heroic effort to create a Christian civilization. It sat on the fence with its back to the future, looking hopefully forward to the past.

Because some of us who have had experience with ecumenical Christian con-

ferences in the last twenty years know this to our sorrow, we read not only with infinite regret but with a sense of divine justice a sentence in Barth's own letter to Dr. Cochrane where he refers to the Confessional Church: "Would that she had also withstood it (the State) in its foreign policy, *whereas we must now hear that she blindly follows it.*" (Italics mine.)

Let Dr. Cochrane meditate upon the full import of that sentence for the next ten years, for the next twenty years, and when he has mastered it, let him write another book dealing with the correct criteria of a just or unjust state from a distinctly Christian, theological and *Biblical* standpoint; and if, unhappily, I am not then in a juster world than this, I shall be only too ready to read what he has to say.

CLARIS EDWIN SILCOX.

"COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WITH THE LORD"

MEN AT WORK AT WORSHIP, by GERALD ELLARD. *Longmans, Green and Company*, \$2.50.

THIS book, issued with full ecclesiastical approval, calls lay Catholics to change decisively both the mood and the mode of public worship to which they are accustomed. Broadly speaking, it is a narrative and interpretation of the modern Liturgical Movement in the Roman church. Essentially, this means the general use of the missal to enable the worshipper to follow and consciously participate in the details of the service of the mass; responses by the congregation to the recitation of the Liturgy by the priest (called the Dialogue Mass); perhaps a limited use of the vernacular, as in the reading aloud in the national language of certain prayers; and the fostering of the congregational chant. Surprising changes in the traditional arrangements for worship may even be involved, as shown in the frontispiece which pictures the celebrant of the Mass in a St. Paul church. The priest stands *behind* an altar set in the "basilican position," or as the communion table might be in a Protestant church, and he faces the people.

The book's inner fire is fed upon profound concern for a recovery of the power of corporate worship. Its most striking outward characteristic is the effort to put the matter into the language of lay Americans, and especially into words which recall the terminology of organized labor. Dr. Ellard's specific motive is to reinvigorate corporate worship as a force behind and within the effort of the Roman church to implement the great encyclicals of recent Popes in behalf of social applications of the Gospel, specifically as expressed in organized Catholic "social action." In exposition of this basic obligation, the author quotes an English layman as follows:

The Mystical Body is the link between the liturgy and sociology; and in proportion as men are brought to realize, through the liturgy, their position as members of that Body, will their actions in the social sphere be affected thereby. That all may be united in the life of the Mystical Body, "the Catholic Church seeks to bring the political and economic

life of man into harmony with their supernatural end. . . ." A visible, united action on the part of the members cannot fail to revive and foster in them a determination to carry their Christ-life into the social and economic sphere.

The authentic flavor of the book itself is well illustrated in a passage which assumes to represent the ruminations of a parish priest confronted with such an interpretation of his pastoral duties. The priest says to himself:

Yes, I remember now what the Holy Father said in *Quadragesimo Anno*, that the new social order will not be possible until all have an intimate conviction of being "one body in Christ, and members one of another." Let's see: here's the exact quotation:

"Then only will it be possible to unite all in harmonious striving for the common good, when all sections of society have the intimate conviction that they are members of a single family . . . and further, that they are 'one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.'" (Rom. 12:5).

So I am to unite my torn and embittered parish by imparting an intimate conviction of membership in *Christ . . . and so in one another . . .* and not only a conviction of *being* members of Christ and members one of another, in some vague and do-nothing way . . . but I shall have to teach them how they are *to act along with Christ and one another jointly*. . . .

Well, let's see. About the only visible thing we all have in common is the Sunday Mass: priests and people . . . husbands and wives . . . parents and children . . . employers and employees . . . rival worker groups . . . the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Slavs . . . it's *only* Sunday Mass that brings us *all together*. . . . *But being together is not enough: we have to act together*. . . . So, we shall have to act, to enact, to perform, to celebrate that Sunday Mass together. It's up to me to show them how Sunday Mass, rightly understood, and actively participated in by all of them together, can and will fuse us all in that kingdom of justice, of love and of truth. . . . Well, there's the missal, made so easy with the *Leaflet Missal* and other small editions. . . . I'll show them how the missal calls all the worshippers "Thy family." "Thy people." "Thy holy people" (*familia tua, populus tuus, plebs tua sancta*). . . . I'll show them how it represents us all, priest and people, as doing something together, something in which they all have an active part . . . how it's always "we" and not "I." . . . Then I'll show them that wonderful doctrine of the priesthood of the laity (about which precious little was being said or written when *I* was in the seminary!) and how they actually are, along with Christ and the ordained priest at the altar, fellow sharers in Christ's great high-priestly function in the Mass.

But in order to unite Catholics thus for social action, the corporate consciousness and practice in worship must be recovered. Hence the book's second great motive is to overcome the individualism into which Catholic worship is confessed to have fallen. "We do not as a body, feel the same toward the Eucharist as did the Catholics of former centuries" (p. 204). The author follows up this confession with a long quotation from the Protestant author on worship, Evelyn Underhill, which he then proceeds to summarize in six points: Three of them, he says; i.e., (1) that "before Pius X, mass had almost ceased to be a corporate and organic act of worship"; (2) that "Holy Communion was then a private affair viewed chiefly as a means of grace"; and (3) that "Holy Communion was not then the normal climax of the congregation's sacrifice of love," would "be readily conceded by everyone." Miss Underhill's other points he thinks are merely restatements of the Catholic

aspiration with respect to worship in all ages and throughout all the world. Properly understood,

Mass is a corporate, integral, organic Act, a single Act of self-oblation, on our part as well as on Christ's, and a sweeping on, for layman as for priest, to the single climax of Communion, of union with God and fellow men in partaking of a Banquet together. Thus understood and shared in, Mass is now a twentieth-century *opportunity* for the plain men and women, such as has not been available for them for many long centuries. All the elements heretofore treated in this book are parts of this one whole, integral, corporate Act of worship, the natural complement of all being communal breakfasting at the Table of God.

So high a motivation might well have evoked the most refined and elegant expressions of the Catholic mind. But such is not the manner of this book. It is loosely put together and crudely powerful. It hammers home its exposition with deliberate extravagance. Chapter II, for example, is slangily entitled "World Worship Goes Communal." The monopolizing of church music by professionals is derided under the caption, "Open- Or Closed-Shop Choirs." Another chapter designates corporate worship as "Collective Bargaining with the Lord." Most extraordinary of all is a supposititious charter for the "Supernatural Worship Union, Number One," composed in imitation of a labor union charter. In spite of the obvious sincerity of purpose, some of these extreme modernizations of Catholic phrases will prove shockers to the more thinskinners of Protestants.

But whatever the crudities of the book, the reader will be well advised to take it for the sake of its matter. No other such vital popular exposition exists in English of one of the truly outstanding emphases of contemporary Roman Catholicism. The author has immense knowledge of the history and ramifications of the Liturgical Movement in all countries. His lurid popularizations keep strange company with the venerable devices of scholarship exemplified by extreme documentation and multitudes of learned notes. And, as every Roman Catholic reformer must, the author has taken pains to muster voluminous backing for his position in quotations from ecclesiastical authorities.

For Americans the most instructive part of the narrative may well be the story of the development of the "Dialogue Mass" in this country. Its course, including the reaction from its first exuberant expressions, is traced impressively and with discrimination. It is by no means a frequent usage as yet, though according to Dr. Ellard's account, it is genuinely naturalized in the practice of the Church.

The most significant element in the book from the standpoint of Protestant thinking is the exposition of the doctrine of the priesthood of the laity which underlies the liturgical innovations advocated. Chapter V, which deals with this point, should be required reading for any who doubt that Catholics believe in the priesthood of the laity. According to Dr. Ellard's testimony, this doctrine has been greatly neglected and is poorly understood by Catholics

themselves. Yet he shows its amazingly deep anchorage in the Catholic tradition all the way from Jerome and Augustine. St. Thomas and the Council of Trent defined the technical sense in which the character of priesthood is indelibly conveyed to baptized and confirmed laymen.

Not only does Christ the High Priest in His worship of God use the services of those in Holy Orders, but Christ the High Priest uses the services "of His priests who have been confirmed, of His priests who have been but baptized! The Church at worship is a race of priests."

The Protestant mind will of course reply, that the exercise of priesthood allowed to the laity is so limited in degree and manner as compared to that exercised by ordained priests, as to leave the main points of the ancient controversy between the two great Christian communions virtually untouched.

Yet, whether or not one agrees with Catholic rationalizations, corporate practices which tend to approximate Protestant practice, along with concepts which are parallel if they are not identical in inner meaning, should prove a basis for the further future convergence of the positions of the two groups. And the doctrine of the priesthood of lay Christians, and of the necessity of their participation in corporate worship in order to realize its complete character, certainly implies an ecumenical perspective.

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS.

THE PERIODS AND POSITIONS OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS

CHRISTIAN ETHICS IN HISTORY AND MODERN LIFE, by ALBAN G. WIDGERY, *Round Table Press*, \$2.50.

CHRISTIAN leaders are going in various directions these days. Despite our best efforts to be "one in Christ," we find ourselves *many* in the present crisis. And each divergent group calls its position Christian, and for evidence quotes Scripture and cites tradition. Some of our most prominent ecclesiastical and scholarly leaders have abandoned all pretense of objectivity and are now lustily beating the drums of war. On the other hand, pacifists are digging in, grimly resolved that, so far as their influence goes, the Christian faith will not be bound over to the hellish purposes of war regardless of how creditable its pleas for religious support may be. Thus the line of division is drawn between and among Christians in terms of the present crisis.

Dr. Widgery's scholarly study of the more important periods and positions of Christian ethics is an invitation to the careful reader to get "above the battle" and see the conflict in the perspective of eternity. It is difficult to imagine how a book could be more timely in its appearance and significant in its content than this one. By calm reference to historical fact, Dr. Widgery considers and refutes the charge that Christian ethics is so closely anchored in the port of the past that it cannot be of use to those who must sail the seas of

today. However, he is cognizant of the fact that a Christian ethics which meets the needs of today will be quite different in details and may exhibit some variance in fundamental principle from that which bound the first century Christians into their world-conquering fellowship. In his judgment, an ethical system adequate to the needs of our day will meet three requirements: (1) it will have an "adequate conception of human nature"; and (2) an "adequate conception of man's environment"; and (3) an "adequate appreciation of the whole realm of values and of the manner of their coordination for human satisfaction." He believes that a careful study of Christian morality and ethical ideals, coupled with the truest insights of modern psychology and philosophy, is the answer to the quest of the modern world for ethical guidance.

The first four chapters of the book present the historical panorama of the growth of Christian ethics. Two broad generalizations may properly be made on the basis of this study. (1) *Christian ethics has grown by assimilation.* Though it was conceived and spent its embryonic existence in Palestine, being thus profoundly Jewish in character, it (as a growing historical movement) was literally born into the Graeco-Roman world outside Palestine. In this new environment it assimilated many important ideas from Greek philosophy and the various religious movements that were older and stronger, for the time being, in the life of the folk. Under the guidance of the early Church Fathers, who were predominantly Platonic in their philosophical outlook, Christian thought and doctrine was largely continuous with the Greek tradition. But under the tutelage of the Latin Fathers (Tertullian, *et al.*) Christian thought manifested greater freedom from the Greek tradition and began to develop doctrines, like that of Original Sin, that had no rootage in Greek thought. This process of assimilation went on through the Middle Ages and has continued apace into the modern world.

(2) The other historically permissible generalization is that *the central principle of Christian ethics has always been the concept of love.* Naturally, this has not carried one single and easily identifiable meaning, but it has provided the center to which all other ethical principles have been related. As Dr. Widgery points out, "Although the fundamental principle of love has been regarded as final and as central throughout all Christian ethical development, that principle has never at any time constituted the whole of Christian ethics." Yet this insistence upon love has resulted in a steady emphasis upon the "fundamental inwardness" of Christian morality. And as a result, *attitude, motive, desire, and will* have loomed large as fundamental categories in Christian ethics. Humility, obedience, sacrifice, and service, in addition to faith, hope, and love have been essential Christian virtues. Not infrequently an uncritical emphasis upon the ultimacy of love has resulted in serious forms of introversion, e.g., the flagellants, hermits, etc.

Throughout this entire section of his book, Dr. Widgery keeps in close touch

with his sources. He devotes considerable space to the pivotal figures of each period. His discussions of Ambrose, Augustine, Erasmus, and John Bunyan are as valuable brief accounts as can be found. The discussion of monasticism ignores the trite and overplayed emphases of that movement and keeps to the ethical point in a refreshing manner. "The prime motive of monasticism at the earliest times and throughout was mainly individualistic. In this it stood for something fundamental in Christian ethics. 'The monk, whether in the East or West,' says Dr. Workman, 'was the voice in the wilderness crying the lost truth of the worth of one soul.'" Yet monasticism was forced to come to terms with the social nature of the individuals who inhabited the monasteries and convents as well as the interaction of these institutions with the surrounding world. The virtues of monasticism came to be humility, obedience, poverty, contemplation, and diligence. The great contribution of St. Francis is the fact that he "drew monasticism from its cloister and sent it forth upon an unhampered ministry of love."

The remainder of the book is spent in considering various basic problems which Christian thinkers must meet as they interpret Christian ethics to the modern mind. Naturally this section of the book is not characterized by the same degree of cohesion which distinguishes the first portion. The author considers the Christian doctrines of man and God and then states and answers various stock criticisms made of Christian ethics. After a brief comparison of Christian and non-Christian ethics, he considers the relation of Christian ethics to sex and the family, politics, economics, and human culture.

The discussion of the Christian concept of man is devoted for the most part to a rapid historical survey of the stages through which the conception has gone. It concludes with a brief summary of what the enduring characteristics of that conception are. Not all of us will share the author's conviction as to the essentially personal nature of Christian ethics, nor can we agree with him that the sanction of immortality is fundamental to an acceptance of the validity of love as an ethical principle. His discussion of the doctrine of God simply assumes that the personalist conception of God is the only conception that will support a Christian ethics adequate to the needs of our day. Here again many of us will differ with him and are willing to document our action with evidence drawn from history, philosophy, and science.

The chapter which compares Christian and non-Christian ethics, while a valuable view of the struggles which Christianity is having with non-Christian ethical movements of Western civilization, is strangely silent on the ethical systems of non-Christian religions, notably, those of the Orient, and Judaism. Then, too, the quasi-religious characteristics of Communism and Fascism, with their profound ethical implications, are not considered among the ethical antagonists of Christianity.

The reader who would be richly rewarded will give this book careful and

considerable study. It deserves precisely this kind of attention. It leaves its reader both humbly conscious of the enduring fact that no one of us is sufficient to the day in which he lives, yet inspired by the realization that this fact in itself is an invitation to greater rather than less effort.

HAROLD BOSLEY.

EXPERIMENTAL AND REBELLIOUS POETRY

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW POETRY, *by* AMOS N. WILDER. *Harper and Brothers*, \$2.50.

"IT will be evident," writes Professor Wilder in his careful outline of the plan and purpose of this book, "that we are talking about the definitely new poets, the modernist poets, and not those who pursue the old themes with the old outlook and the old form. The group we have in mind includes such different figures as T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Robinson Jeffers, Eugene O'Neill, A. MacLeish, Conrad Aiken, Hart Crane, E. E. Cummings, D. H. Lawrence, W. H. Auden, and Kenneth Patchen. They are alike only perhaps in their marked anti-traditionalism. Either in form or subject matter they sharply offend the lover of traditional poetry. Whether or not we find any beauty in their work, we shall find them significant for the light they throw on the times that produced them, on the world we live in today. They are indices of tensions that exist in our age."

On this group of writers of this post-war period of disillusionment and of social upheaval, Professor Wilder throws a searching light. Their background is outlined and their attitudes as to the form and purpose of poetry are shown. Such a book has been needed and the task of evaluation and analysis has been carried out with poise and skill. If our age of turmoil has its voices crying out in anxiety and in prophecy, then the significant poetry of our day needs to be examined as a body, for on the whole it has had little general reading and too little discussion.

Since this volume will be disturbing to settled satisfactions with the traditional poetry, and will doubtless be questioned because it does not include in its scope many great poets of this century, Masfield, de la Mare, Frost, Lindsay, and Sandburg, the standing of the author is especially important. Professor Wilder does not approach this study of the new poets from the point of view of a radical seeking readers for lesser lights, but as a teacher who is thoroughly grounded in the traditions of great poetry, yet who must search out as a man and as a teacher the meaning and significance of the new "experimental and rebellious" poetry of our time.

Amos Wilder is on the faculty of the old Andover Newton Theological School at Newton Center, Massachusetts. His special field is the New Testament. His younger brother is Thornton Wilder, the author of "The Bridge of San Luis Rey." Two sisters are writers and he himself has published poetry.

Professor Wilder has been interested in finding "what light this new poetry throws on the religious and ethical attitudes of men today, especially those not identified with the older traditions." What do twentieth century men live by? What are their values? What do they think of life? And he does not hesitate to set down the challenge which these new prophets throw out to their age in such chapters as "A World without Roots," "The Cult of the Irrational," "Ethical Motives," and "Revolutionary and Proletarian Poetry."

A hundred paragraphs are open to quotation. "Driven to new explorations of the soul and the heart these seers find in part and err in part." "Above all the reader must try to judge the poetry as poetry whether he agrees with it or not." "When T. S. Eliot of New England descent and New England temper reached beyond his contemporary dilemmas to triumphant affirmation, he had to pass beyond the New England tradition to do so." "Death is no longer approached 'with all the proper decencies' and proper reticences; it is treated realistically, but it is also treated with imagination." "If the values of the Hebrew Christian tradition are closed, as closed they are, for long to wide strata of men today, they will necessarily look elsewhere for their world view and their cult and commerce with the ground of life." "Where the church cannot poetry can persuade men of the newness and values of the future and elicit from them that 'act of the spirit' which is difficult."

Every chapter leads inevitably to further reading among the poets discussed and quoted.

An appendix provides brief biographical details of the poets, a very useful bibliography, and an index. A book of such value deserved better paper and binding.

FREDERIC G. MELCHER.

INFANT BAPTISM AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

THE PRESBYTERIAN DOCTRINE OF CHILDREN IN THE COVENANT. AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INFANT BAPTISM IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA. by LEWIS BEVENS SCHENCK. *Yale Studies in Religious Education. XII, Yale University Press, \$2.50.*

THE sacraments should be dramatic expressions of the faith of the church, but Protestantism is notoriously vague in interpreting them. The meaning of the baptism of infants, for example, offers some difficult and still unsolved problems. In this study of the historic Calvinist doctrine of children in the covenant, Dr. Schenck gives a thorough survey of traditional Presbyterian theory of infant baptism and church membership, and shows the causes of the present confusion within the Presbyterian church regarding the religious status of children.

The thesis is that, beginning with Calvin, the historic faith of Presbyterians has been that the children of believing Christians are heirs of the covenant of

divine grace made with Abraham. Baptism, therefore, may be regarded as the sign of infant regeneration. Calvin held it could be presumed that the seed of regeneration had already been planted in the child. Hodge held the presumption to be only that children of believers would at some time be made regenerate. In either case they are to be treated as church members, as children of God, and are to be helped to grow in the Christian life through a regular and normal program of Christian nurture.

Frankly partial to this "glorious" doctrine, as he terms it, Dr. Schenck believes that the acceptance of children into the fellowship of the regenerate has been obscured in the faith and practice of the Presbyterian church. Clergy and people do not know how to regard the status of children, and the regular program of Christian education beginning at an early age has been replaced by sporadic evangelistic appeals to the feelings of young people and adults. Chief responsibility for this divergence from tradition Schenck places upon the Great Awakening and other revivals with their accompanying stress on conversion. When conversion experiences of a prescribed type were considered as prerequisites of salvation, unconverted children were treated as outside the Christian fold, or, even worse, the church itself was viewed as embracing saved and unsaved. The covenant promise, infant baptism, and any systematic program of Christian nurture all fell into disrepute together.

Schenck is primarily interested in the relation of the doctrine to religious education. He believes that if the church would realize its departure from its own faith, Christian education programs would be strengthened and much criticism of modern religious educational theory would be silenced.

The work is thoroughly documented and clearly written. The influence of the revivals on theology and the defense of the covenant doctrine is painstakingly traced through much controversial literature in an interesting manner without sacrificing scholarly precision. An excellent bibliography and index are included.

Two aspects of the cultural background of this theological development require brief comment. The first is that, while Schenck explains the falling away from the covenant doctrine as an effect of the revivals, he does not emphasize the cultural setting of the covenant doctrine itself. Why have churches insisted on infant baptism, sociologically speaking? Has it not been because churches have desired to maintain control over secular institutions? This fact is mentioned in the present discussion, but not given the prominence it deserves. Historically it has been the state churches with theocratic theologies which insisted on infant baptism. The political dissenters, the free spirits opposed it. Bringing children within the church before they know anything about it has sometimes been an aspect of ecclesiastical imperialism and political abuse. Recognizing this fact serves to temper one's enthusiasm for the "glorious" doctrine.

Again, it is hardly fair to measure a good program of Christian nurture against bad evangelism and make this an argument for the former. Schenck points out that the revivals came because the church (which had been living with benefit of the covenant doctrine) had become secular, lax, and dead. He says that this was because the covenant theory had been perverted. But a defender of revivalism might reply that the excesses of the Great Awakening were perversions of a sound evangelism. The problem of how people are really helped to become Christians raises two fundamental issues concerning baptism which may be briefly commented upon.

(1) Upon what theory of human nature and Christian salvation does the sacrament of baptism rest? Any answer would involve presuppositions about the nature of theological truth. Schenck appeals to the Presbyterian tradition; but tradition is not necessarily truth. A convincing defense of the doctrine of the covenant will have to depend on more than the Abraham story, or the belief of John Calvin, or the fact that modern religious education finds it congenial.

The author seems to leave only two possibilities open in the interpretation of human nature. Children are either "living plants or poisonous weeds" to use a picturesque phrase he quotes. Either they should never know themselves outside the love of God (p. 153) or should be regarded as children of wrath outside the covenant of grace. It is to be hoped that these are not the only choices open to a Christian doctrine of human nature; for while revivalist theology with its emphasis on sin tends to violent disturbances of personality the doctrine of the covenant leads to complacency. Schenck's work offers excellent documentation of the fact that ecclesiastical Calvinism, while emphasizing the doctrines of sin and divine judgment in the interpretation of human nature, has tended toward a legalistic moralism with illusions of perfectionism in its theory of sanctification. But must it be held either that children are entirely within or entirely outside of the covenant of grace? Man always stands in need of repentance, and he can always grow in grace. A realistic view of human nature would have to admit that with respect to all men whether they are the children of Christian parents or not.

(2) The second major issue is the meaning of the sacrament of baptism. Is it a sign and seal of grace, as Schenck apparently holds, or does it actually impart the benefits of grace as some theologians hold (p. 133)? If it imparts benefits it is magic. If it is a sign, then sign of what?

The traditional doctrine holds it to be a sign of the regeneration of children of Christian parents. One immediately asks, Do the children of Christian parents have some superior privilege before God? Now in one sense they do. It may be said that the solidarity of the human family, and the responsibility of parents for children do involve a benefit for children in Christian homes which baptism recognizes and sanctifies. It is interesting to see in Schenck's

exposition how this naturalistic defense of the rite came more and more to the fore in the nineteenth century as Biblical supernaturalism waned.

Celebrating the solidarity of the Christian family, however, is quite a different thing from celebrating the regeneration of an individual soul. It is hard to make any sense out of the position that because a child has Christian parents God performs a special work in his infant soul. The highly subtle notion that the child becomes "federally holy" (p. 46) marks the recognition of the difficulty here and shows the extremities to which apologetics can be forced. If baptism has any religious meaning for the relationship of the individual soul to God, it is a meaning for the parents, not for the child. The frank recognition of this fact would do much to clear up the confusion in which sacramental theory rests at the present time.

Every reader will feel in Dr. Schenck's debt for his able discussion of a vital Christian problem.

DANIEL D. WILLIAMS.

DOES CIVILIZATION DESERVE SAVING?

CAN CHRISTIANITY SAVE CIVILIZATION? by WALTER MARSHALL HORTON. *Harper and Brothers*, \$2.00.

FORTUNATELY not all the scholars have abandoned their vocational responsibility in order to become war strategists. We desperately need their insight into the underlying issues at stake and the deeper meaning of the crisis in our civilization.

Dr. Walter Marshall Horton is one who writes as if he had a map of the world before him supplemented by analytical graphs of the historical sweep, of the rise and fall, and the transformation, of civilizations—showing the controlling streams of influence. However, he is also familiar with the picture maps of the latest *Sunday Times* with their shaded areas of tragedy and their comparisons of military, economic and political power. He is deeply concerned about the headlines and is alarmed and saddened by current ominous developments. Therefore, he helps us to find our bearings and to act wisely in the midst of chaos.

His analysis of his title problem, *Can Christianity Save Civilization?*, is much needed. "Saving" civilization does not mean for him "preserving it as it is," or "restoring it as it was," but rather "carrying forward its enduring values into a new social order." He does not confuse our current Western liberal democratic civilization with Christianity. On the contrary, he says emphatically:

Judged by Christian standards, it is plain that much in contemporary Western civilization deserves to be destroyed; and Christianity ought not be asked to participate in the futile attempt to quench the fires that are beginning to consume its dross. *Western civilization does not deserve to be preserved as it is, and every effort to preserve it as it is will produce its own opposite, by a kind of moral necessity.* Heaven be praised for that!

But there is not only dross in Western civilization; there is also much of high value in it which should be conserved. Therefore Christianity has the tremendous responsibility of "redeeming" or "regenerating" it. Dr. Horton doubts whether the existing churches as they are can do this; but he believes that Christianity could. That would require regenerated churches.

The book is devoted primarily to a justification of his faith that Christianity can save civilization and to an analysis of what is required. His justification rests upon a scholarly review of historical precedents from the East as well as from the West. Religion has repeatedly—though not always—rescued both primitive cultures and advanced civilizations from decay. There is no reason why it should not do so again.

Dominant religious movements "go through three phases in their relation with their cultural environment: (1) cultural crudity; (2) cultural creativity; (3) secularization. The third phase of this cycle is critical for both religion and culture. . . . It ends in death or in rebirth. Rebirth occurs when the culture gets a new religious heart and center." Western civilization and Christianity are in this critical third phase of their relation. Civilization has become secularized, and religion has been in a period of cultural sterility. Though too strong to be overthrown by an external enemy, Western civilization is "declining through the dissipation and division of its own internal forces."

Now East and West, having become one neighborhood by intercommunication and interdependence, must be saved together if they are to be saved at all. What Christ once did for the ancient Mediterranean world, he could do again for our world if it would turn back to the inspiration, judgment, and redirection to be found in him.

The ethical resources of the Hebrew-Christian tradition are adequate. The missionary enterprise and the ecumenical movement are at hand as useful instruments and media for world-wide rebuilding. The emergence of the younger churches in the East is as important as the renewal of the older churches in the West; "the fate of Christianity is no longer bound up with the fate of Western civilization." The world Christian community is emerging. A revitalized and unified Church "might furnish the living nucleus from which the new world order would grow, taking up into itself the best of the old order." Thus Christianity would save civilization.

Dr. Horton has given us renewed courage, a reasonable basis for hope, and much-needed guidance. This reviewer wishes that the author had gone further in explaining the *process* of the redemption and regeneration of civilization. However, this last observation does not qualify his high enthusiasm for the present work, but rather expresses the hope that we may have more—and soon—from the same pen.

ROSWELL P. BARNES.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER'S CONCEPTS AND TECHNIQUES

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CASE WORK, by GORDON HAMILTON. *Columbia University Press*, \$3.00.

THE real significance of a book lies frequently as much in the things it takes for granted, and therefore refers to only casually, as in the specific content. This is apt to be particularly true in one addressed to members of a professional group or students of a particular skill, whether it be medicine, the ministry, or social case work. It is true of Miss Hamilton's book; lacking a framework of its pre-conceptions, the book is apt to seem over-technical and detailed, especially since the author makes no concessions to popularity in the matter of vocabulary.

Given a knowledge of her assumptions, however, the book has much to offer not only to social workers, but to the clergy and socially-minded Christians who wish to understand what conception this rapidly growing professional group has of its own skill. Particularly one sees it as an excellent base for discussion between case workers, and clergy. The case material, however, is insufficiently illuminated by analysis and comment to convey much to the individual reader not versed in case work practice.

Miss Hamilton assumes and therefore merely refers to, several basic concepts. To her, social work is an essential function of our democratic industrial civilization, not a subject for argument. Case work, while rooted in history, is a new discipline, practiced only or primarily in social agencies, the structure of which is assumed to be known to the reader. The various forms of social work are reclassified briefly, as social action, social welfare planning, social group work, and social case work; but a knowledge of its complexity is taken for granted, as is a comprehension of the factors in the American scene which have produced widely the varying organizations. A basically religious respect for personality is predicated in the case worker, "for only if he loves and accepts people as they are can he help them to accept themselves and their experiences." A keen, detached and untiring interest in the minutiae of human experience, and a complete abandonment of the "now this is what you should do" school of thought is inherent in the excerpts from case records with which the book abounds, and which prove that "the short and simple annals" are neither short nor simple to those involved in them. To Miss Hamilton the really important thing is not what the worker does for the client, but what the client is enabled to do for himself. Incidentally, the case material illustrates the fitness of the term *client*, a good old word which meant originally "one who is heard or listened to."

Perhaps the most valuable emphasis in the book, in addition to the persistent demand that the desires and troubles of other people be taken seriously, is that on inter-relatedness. Problems and life situations are never either en-

tirely external or internal, environmental or emotional; they are always a varying complex of both. Similarly, the remedy seldom is found in any one of the forms of social work. Case work is concerned with the individual; but in a very real social setting. People are never merely the clients of one or more social agencies; they are members of families, citizens, employees, church goers, etc. Similarly groups have a unity, but they are made up of individuals who have different needs and contributions, and the group is dependent upon the self-directing ability of its members.

Allied is the thesis that, while there are forms of specialization in case work, in so far as the workers are truly professional there is a unity of philosophy, knowledge, and method whether the casework is practiced in an agency under a particular church or in a non-sectarian public or private agency. The case work concept "in part, at least derives from the religious tenet with which all democratic processes are impregnated—the worth of the human soul or the significance of the individual in society." The author pays full tribute to the contributions of other professions to social case work; but emphasizes the unique skill and ability of case work which she believes has gained new strength from its willingness to abandon claims to competence in all phases of personal problems. This recognition of limitations also offers fresh adventures in co-operation with other professions.

Readers of *CHRISTENDOM* will particularly welcome the re-statement of the aim of social work which has often seemed lost to sight in technical books and periodicals:

Its purposes, historically based, are still concerned with making love instead of hostility effective in human relationships. Social work can release creative energies only as its purposes are accepted, not denied.—Political democracy cannot survive unless based on the welfare of its people, but this welfare can neither be handed on nor handed down, it must be progressively achieved through enlightened participation of the commonwealth.

To this end social workers must of necessity, Miss Hamilton thinks, be sympathetically interested, even at the risk of unpopularity, in movements to correct basic social injustice, but "professional social action must rest solidly on knowledge of subject matter, on professional practices and disciplines which enable us to see the relation of these objectives to other objectives."

MARY S. BRISLEY.

LEARNING TO READ

HOW TO READ A BOOK: THE ART OF GETTING A LIBERAL EDUCATION, by MORTIMER J. ADLER. *Simon & Schuster*, \$2.50.

THE title-page of this work should have borne the motto "*Per aspera ad astra*." For Mr. Adler's procedure is not (like all the other self-help experts) to make a difficult thing sound easy; it is to make an easy thing sound difficult. More precisely, it is to show the difficulties and complications inher-

ent in what we commonly take to be simple as falling off a log. Of course everybody can read—for *pleasure*. Of course most people can read—for *information*. But how many of us can read *for understanding*? How many of us can "get the point" of a really difficult piece of writing, or understand an "argument" (whether spoken or written) in all of its bearings and relations? Mr. Adler's contention is that very few of us can, and that the schools of today (especially American schools) are not teaching this art, as they have taught it in the past.

The reasons why it is not being taught are: first, the mistaken but widespread notion that reading is merely a *passive* thing; and second, the teaching of our "Progressive" educators that science and scientific method constitute the basis of a liberal education. Against these heresies, Mr. Adler points out that reading is an enormously complicated activity, in so far as it involves thinking the author's thoughts over after him—*understanding* what he understood—with all the "effort" that was involved in his originally thinking them; and that we learn by "instruction" (i.e., by human teachers) as well as by "discovery" (i.e., at the hands of nature directly). The error of the Deweyites is to concern themselves entirely with the technique of learning by discovery, and to neglect the equally important technique of learning by instruction. It is this technique of "being instructed" that Mr. Adler is out to impart to a generation that missed it in school and college.

The rules that he gives and the distinctions that he draws (like all Scholastics, Mr. Adler is a man of many and fine distinctions) are mostly of a common-sense order. Everybody, on reading them, will feel that in some sense he has "known them all along." This does not make it any the less worthwhile to have them called to our attention, made explicit, and discussed in all the detail and with all the wealth of illustration (most of it from his own teaching experience) that Mr. Adler here employs.

One limitation of *How to Read a Book* is that it deals with the reading of "expository" books (non-fiction) rather than "imaginative" ones (fiction, poetry, belles-lettres). This limitation is partially corrected by a single chapter in which Mr. Adler applies by "analogy" the rules which he has already formulated for expository books to the field of imaginative literature. Just as for the former an effort of understanding is involved, so in the latter is there an effort of the imagination. Whereas, in the one case, we must understand what the writer has understood, in the other, we must imagine what the writer has imagined. (In both cases *criticism* can follow only upon an adequate effort of the understanding or imagination; Adler stresses the point that we can *criticize* only what we have properly grasped.) While the language of expository books is medium or vehicle for heightened understanding, that of imaginative books is a medium for heightened realization or appreciation. An interesting philosophy of art is implicit here, which I should like to see Mr.

Adler develop. My only question would be whether such a view does not verge too much upon the Crocean extreme of treating the concrete "work of art" as a mere memorandum of an ineffable "intuition" that lies forever behind and beyond it.

One other point may be mentioned briefly. For Mr. Adler, absolutely nothing takes the place of reading the original, "great books" in every field (a handy list of these is provided at the end of the present volume). These "great books" are of both the present and past ("from Homer to Einstein"), but mostly of the past, because the "great" books of the present are pretty certainly fewer in number and quite certainly harder to identify. In any case no commentaries or digests—nothing of a "secondary" or textbook nature—is included; the reason being that contact must be established with the great minds directly, and not through a watered-down summary. Now, with respect to imaginative books this is obviously the only policy, because imaginative books are works of art, and every work of art is uniquely valuable. Vergil himself must be read (and very preferably in the original language—a point Mr. Adler does not discuss)—not a book *about* Vergil or his poetry. Turning to the other division, of "expository" books, it is again clear that philosophical or semi-philosophical works, if they be truly "great," have a message which can be got only by reading the works themselves, and not some later account or criticism of them. Not even a second "great book" may take the place of a first. (Aristotle, for example, may have "corrected" certain tendencies in Plato; still it remains true that Plato had many true insights of his own which cannot be gathered from Aristotle.) Philosophy, like art, is largely "non-progressive."

But is not the case otherwise with the natural sciences? Is not the whole significance of a scientific work exhausted by the contribution which it makes to the *advancement* of science? Does not a later scientific work, therefore, take up and include everything that has been discovered (in its particular field) before? The application to reading is obvious. Why perspire over Isaac Newton when one can read a modern Physics text and get not only Newton's *essential* discoveries (disengaged from his errors), but also all of the relevant developments since Newton's time? Does not the *progressive* structure of natural science justify our taking it in this pragmatic sort of way?

There are certainly many people who should read Mr. Adler's book, beside the hopeful laymen at whom the come-on title is obviously directed. It should be read by students, by teachers, and by all who are concerned about the future of American education. It should be required reading for all of our Progressive educators. Mr. Adler seems to have given up all hope of making any impression on them, and turned to adult education as the only hope. But one can never tell what the combination of a persuasive book and an intelligent reader may accomplish.

R. W. BRETALL.

CHRISTENDOM

OTHER REVIEWS

CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS IN A WORLD COMMUNITY, by DANIEL JOHNSON FLEMING. *Friendship Press*, \$2.00.

Following his pictorial studies of modern Christian painting in Asia and Africa, Dr. Fleming's present volume chiefly concerns the symbolism which appears in applied ornamentation in connection with the building and furnishing of Christian churches and schools on these continents. His theme in all three books is the reciprocal relations, incident to foreign missions, between Western Christian elements of culture and those indigenous to the non-Christian lands. Here are shown Christian churches built in the style of, and with much of the detail of, heathen temples; and a still wider and more varied use of religious furnishings of the distinctive art-forms of the respective Oriental nations. A multitude of illustrations show how specific meanings interpenetrate with, and are united in design and composition, with the traditional Christian symbols, as, for example, when the cross is upheld by the lotus.

Two-thirds of the book is devoted to 221 illustrations with descriptions and interpretive comment. These are preceded by four essays on "The Values and Dangers in Symbols," treated generally and in the particular context of foreign missions. The whole history of the use of visible objects as aids to devotion proves the necessity of endless struggle to keep them from becoming barriers to the best devotion. The case is particularly difficult with equivocal symbols; for example, the swastika associated with idolatry, ancient and modern.

The combination of art-forms obviously carries a certain fusion of ideas in which one or the other may be dominant or recessive, or in which possibly a happy reinforcement of both values may be achieved. These are logical possibilities.

Professor Fleming does not assume to speculate as to just what does happen in any given instance. In general he feels that Christianity must take the risk of assimilating, and being assimilated within, the worthy and kindred elements in non-Christian cultures; and that the total valid symbolism of religion must somehow be comprehended in ecumenical insights and expressions. Obviously this will not take place without a long process of adjustment coupled with shiftings of meaning. At any rate, the long continued aesthetic tradition in certain branches of Christianity commits the church in advance to risking the outcome, while the wider modern appeal of symbolism, both in liturgy and as related to sacred places and objects, raises anew this general question for the church.

Dr. Fleming properly calls attention to the, as yet, relative rarity of the conscious assimilation of symbols. Missions generally have transplanted mediocre architecture quite barren of symbolic embellishments. Spreading out his

cases over a wide area of foreign missionary fields, he shows their exceedingly thin geographical coverage and their concentration in the hands of merely two or three communions. The greater frequency of adopted Christian symbolism in India may reflect, as the author suggests, a more "spiritual" cast and sensitiveness to form of the Indian mind as over against, for example, Chinese practicality and materialism. But enough examples are presented from all the Asiatic cultures—and more slightly from Africa—to suggest how profound and fascinating is the field of investigation in which the author has broken ground.

A PERSON-MINDED MINISTRY, *by* RICHARD HENRY EDWARDS, *Cokesbury Press*, \$2.00.

The apt title of this volume appropriately suggests its content. We must, says the author, realize the implications of being "person-minded." We find our ends only "in persons, in immediate, concrete human experience," exactly where Jesus found them. Full recognition of this will give us a new perspective on the significance of personal counseling, on the opportunities afforded by voluntary groups to develop persons, on our obligations and opportunities to be "creative partners in a new social order." Such a view will give new insight into Jesus, into what he meant for example when he said the prodigal son "came to himself." It will mean reorientation of much of our theological education, away from abstractions and towards the understanding of concrete human experiences.

The author was formerly Director of the United Religious Program at Cornell University, and Executive Director of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education. He now gives courses at several theological schools, and devotes much of his time to ministers' conferences especially in the South and Southwest.

This volume is addressed to ministers, but the author points out that not all true ministers are ordained. Nevertheless, it is the clergy who are especially addressed in this book—the work of a practically-minded, unrepentant liberal who is nevertheless a conservator of basic personal values as taught and lived by Jesus.

THE FAITH BY WHICH THE CHURCH LIVES, *by* GEORGIA HARKNESS. *The Abingdon Press*, \$1.50.

It has seemed good to the publishers to point out that Dr. Harkness is the first woman to give the Mendenhall Foundation Lectures at De Pauw University, which are published in this volume. But the title itself suggests something far more significant than that. It locates a ringing confession of personal faith within the corporate faith of the church. And this may well be accounted an omen: at least its consequences are a departure both in form and order from usual presentations of Christian belief.

Starting as Dr. Harkness does with the church, and with the actual church of personal fellowships and ecumenical conferences, makes for informality in contrast to system, and sets the order of experience above the order of theology. Living faith is the faith of concrete experience and what Dr. Harkness is talking about is what is actually and relevantly believed by Christendom today.

Only secondarily then does she attack the logically primary issue of authority. Here, also, the corporate note dominates. With its norm in the mind of Christ, Christian knowledge is socially mediated. The divinely established fellowship is the "matrix" for the growth of the Christian gospel; "the church is a worshipping Christian community, and the community determines the heritage of truth in the past and the direction in which to look for first discoveries" (p. 54).

Beginning with the minimum New Testament confession "Jesus is Lord," the chapter so titled ends with the conclusion:

There are not two persons, Jesus and Christ. There is direct historical continuity between Jesus of Nazareth and the Christ of faith, and in Jesus Christ—not Jesus only, not Christ only—is the Word made flesh.

Still speaking for and within the church, Dr. Harkness projects her faith out into the human world. It embraces an ecumenicity not alone of church folk but of Christian democracy, fusing the "evangelistic with the democratic implications of the gospel." Dr. Harkness' doctrine of God is essentially a living confession of faith in God. It is well bulwarked philosophically, but its major stress falls on its social and religious implications. It leads to Christ, to the church, and to the Kingdom.

An unusual measure of glow as of the personal delivery of a message, emanates from Dr. Harkness' printed pages and warms her little book with something of the "flame" to which she has given earlier lyric utterance.

CHINA REDISCOVERS HER WEST, *edited by* YI-FANG WU *and* FRANK W. Price. *Friendship Press, \$1, paper .60.*

A gallant and compelling book this; a veritable saga of the unparalleled migration of Chinese millions from the seacoast and Japanese-occupied territory, to the imperial interior—China's New West—all seen through the participant eyes of patriotic and Christian leaders, Chinese and Western.

The whole family are walking, are walking step by step, on the road from Nanking to Nanchang,

Walking, walking—a thousand and five hundred *li*;

Past and over are two hundred days and nights,

Lost and gone is everything save our own bodies;

Still our heavenly Father bestows on us his gifts;

Many friends with loving hearts,

Sun and moon, the stars, rain and snow, wind and frost,

Great rocks, mighty rivers, skies full of clouds and lofty mountain peaks,
Dense forests, tall bamboos, birds' cries, and the fragrance of flowers—
And more was given us—joy which gold cannot buy,
And health to struggle with wind and water, burning sun and open air;
And then he gave us peace that passeth all understanding.

The sociological miracle of the transfer of a culture, its political organization and economic tools, is competently presented. Profound and as yet incomplete changes are sensed but faced without fear. The meaning of the incredible process for the rural masses and for women is sympathetically explored. Relative to the vastness of the total situation, Christianity's external and direct contribution is fragmentary and episodic. But the great variety of missionary activity and impact, and the staunch life of the national church are portrayed in convincing manner.

The introductory chapter by Madame Chiang Kai-shek celebrates the re-discovery of the Chinese soul; the "resurrection of that greatest of all gifts, most precious in personal or national life, courage!"

METHODISTS UNITED FOR ACTION, by JOHN R. MOTT. *Board of Missions, The Methodist Church*, \$1.50.

The fear has been somewhat widely voiced that the great united Methodist Church of America might find itself so preoccupied with the completion of the details of its union and with working out its consequences, that it would have little time or interest for ecumenical concerns in the near future.

Dr. Mott's book is a vigorous corrective to any such tendency if it ever existed. While summoning the unmatched Methodist strength in numbers and Christian institutions to an advance commensurate with the church's new opportunity, the essence of the book is that it sets the whole prospect within a framework of ecumenical outlook and conscience.

It requires an impressive appendix of eleven pages to list the present projects at home and abroad in which the Methodist church is cooperating with other denomination. So deep a rootage in united service will surely hold even the magnificent might of the new Methodism to its ecumenical loyalties. For this Dr. Mott pleads with characteristic eloquence:

Emphatically the ecumenical movement stands in need of the active collaboration of the new united Church. The world is too strong for a divided Church. Methodist reunion, great as it is, is not enough. Time passes. While we elay the word crumbles. If there be among Methodist leaders any who in this day question whether the Church should throw itself with abandon into this ecumenical movement, and so place its resources at the service of the larger world Christian community, let them heed these words of Christ, His only authentic words outside the four Gospels, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Surely, in using such language to enforce unselfish action He had in mind something very precious to bestow on those who lose themselves in great unselfish causes.

GROUP LIFE, by MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH. *Association Press*, \$1.00.

So much of the activity of the local church concerns groups—from Sunday

School classes and casual committees to the total life of neighborhood-centered congregations—that an understanding of the sociological factors that produce human groupings and of the techniques which influence them cannot fail to be of prime importance to the religious worker.

This little book, by the Director of Greenwich House, New York City, is written out of a wealth of experience backed by a scholarly understanding of groups and their ways. It begins with the family and carries over from local groupings to the vast agglomerations of nation, state and church. The central theme is the inherent tension between the individual and the group out of which springs the basic ethical values, and the massive dislocations incident to our changeful age which presents new social and ethical challenges.

There is a brief but choice bibliography.

NOTE AND COMMENT

CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION OF "GERMANY AND THE WEST"

SIX competent commentators have recorded here their reactions to Dr. Eduard Heimann's challenging article in the last number of CHRISTENDOM. In addition, we are pleased to announce a full-length critical article by President Conrad Bergendoff of Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois, which will appear in our Winter number.

In its Summer number CHRISTENDOM inadvertently credited Dr. Heimann with being ten years younger than he is. He was born in 1889.

I

In commenting on Heimann's instructive article, "The Great Gulf Between Germany and the West," I shall confine myself to the factors arising out of religious history and shall take them up in the chronological order of their impact upon German culture.

Heimann goes back to the sixteenth century for the beginnings of the rift and discovers the initial divergence in the prevalence of Lutheranism in Germany and of Calvinism in Britain and America. This factor, however, is not unduly stressed by the author in view of the failure of Lutheranism to issue in Fascism in the Scandinavian countries.

The general thesis seems to me to be sound, yet in need of serious revision if the picture of Lutheran political ethics is intended as an exposition of the views of Luther himself. The statement is made that "Lutheran ethics is that of unconditioned loyalty to the authority which is ordained by God, to the total eclipse of the other doctrine . . . that one has to obey God rather than man." Not a total eclipse by any means! Luther taught vigorously the duty of civil disobedience if the state encroaches upon the freedom of the Gospel. Luther is the spiritual father of Niemöller. "Yes," Heimann will answer, "but it does not follow that the faithful have any other means to counter the injustice of the *Obrigkeit* but prayer; revolt is never admitted as a remedy to injustice and sufferings." The accuracy of this representation depends upon what it means. Luther did not allow revolt as a remedy for the sufferings inflicted by injustice, but he did allow revolt against a government which tampered with the true religion. This revolt must not be conducted by the private citizen, but only against an *Obrigkeit* ordained of God by another *Obrigkeit* equally ordained of God, specifically by the German Protestant princes against the Catholic Emperor. This was the theory of the Schmalkald war. Luther indeed reached this position only with searching of heart and never went so far as Calvin's successors were to do in justifying rebellion and even tyranni-

cide by private persons. But if Luther was induced to move so far by the pressure of events one may wonder whether Lutheranism might not have become as rebellious as Calvinism had the pressure continued. What happened was that, in Germany, the emperor retreated and left Lutheranism to be the dominant church, whereas Calvinism had an uphill battle in France, Scotland and England. Divergent circumstances quite as much as divergent presuppositions made Calvinism more rebellious.

With regard to the state, Luther's view is rightly described as more negative than that of Calvin. The state, for Luther, is ordained by God because of sin. The function of the state is to redress wrong, not to establish the kingdom of God on earth. That, in view of the sinfulness of man, can never be attained. The state, however, is not altogether abandoned by Luther to the devil. The state has the duty of protecting the true religion and even, in an emergency, of reforming the church. The magistrate is not absolved from the dispositions of the Sermon on the Mount. Power is not substituted for love, but is to be exercised in love. That is the point at which Lutheranism opens the door to hypocrisy. Luther retains the Catholic distinction between the just and the unjust war, but is no more subservient to authority than is the Catholic Church, which holds that under normal circumstances the magistrate and not the individual must determine the justice or injustice of the conflict. The big difference is that a Lutheran cannot indulge in a crusade. War belongs to the order of sinful nature. The Christian may participate but only with heaviness of heart.

Calvin regarded the state as ordained of God for more positive purposes. Church and state can work together for the erection of a holy commonwealth, and may do battle in the name of the Lord of Hosts. Witness Cromwell! Certainly there is a greater optimism here than in Lutheranism, though it is not the optimism of faith in universal human perfectibility. Does not Calvinism accentuate the doctrine of total depravity? Its hope was only for what God would do through the elect. Two ways for the erection of the holy commonwealth were open. One was to segregate the elect in a select community such as Geneva and the plantations in the American wilderness. The other way was to dominate the non-elect by the establishment of a theocracy. This was the attempt of English Puritanism. And it does not spell democracy and the rights of man. It means rather a totalitarianism of the godly. Not without reason have parallels been observed between the Puritan and the Nationalist Socialist revolutions, between Cromwell and Hitler. Both have a sense of divine mission, a belief that something can be done in this mortal sphere, and a readiness to suppress those who get in the way. Stephan Zweig in his *Right of Heresy* seeks his sixteenth century counterpart to Hitler in Calvin. This can be done, of course, only by caricaturing Calvin, who believed not in blood and soil, but in the sovereignty of the Eternal—and that makes a difference.

Calvinism has contributed to democracy not because of any belief in the desirability of universal suffrage for the non-elect as well as the elect. On the contrary, New England Calvinism gave the vote only to church members, and of church membership only to those who exhibited the moral and the emotional proofs of grace. Calvinism contributed to democracy at the point rather of the limited sovereignty allowed to the state. The intransigence of Calvinism when in the opposition, broke down the divine right of kings and parliaments. And Calvinism did contribute to the rights of man by insisting that the state when wrong must not meddle with the faith of the man who is right. If the state is right and the man is wrong that is another matter. The decision, however, as to who was right Calvinism reserved for itself, and with the swarming of sects the decision devolved increasingly upon the individual.

There is a further factor in the religious situation which if not overlooked is at least misunderstood by Heimann, and that is Anabaptism. Reference is made to an Anabaptist phase of the peasants' war. There never was an Anabaptist phase of the peasants' war. But the statement is right that the Anabaptists did believe in the possibility of perfection; not for all men, however, but only for the community of the saints; a perfection to be maintained by aloofness from the world. The Lutheran picture of the state ordained because of sin was accepted, but the deduction was made that the Christian must not participate in the administration of the state and, above all, that the church must not be allied with the state. The gulf between Germany and the West is in no small measure due to the almost complete extermination of Anabaptism in Germany in the sixteenth century and the emergence in the England of the seventeenth century of the spiritual descendants of the Anabaptists; the Baptists, Congregationalists and Unitarians with their demand for the separation of church and state and the Quakers with their repudiation of Christian participation in war. The rise of these sects, in conjunction with the Puritan revolution, made possible their survival, and they have given the tonè to much of English and even more of American political thinking. In my own case I find that the greatest obstacle to understanding with a German Lutheran Nazi friend arises from the fact that I have my roots among those whom he considers "fanatics" (Schwärmer).

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

II

I must confess that I find Professor Heimann's argument on the whole unconvincing. The gulf between Germany and the West cannot be satisfactorily explained by *primary* reference to "the contribution of Lutheran ethics to German authoritarianism and power politics." That Lutheranism has had an important influence upon the character of German politics, can, of course, not be denied, but that it is the "decisive factor in the cleavage between Germany

and the West" is an untenable exaggeration. I do not believe that Lutheranism ever had the formative influence upon the German political mind that Professor Heimann attributes to it. Nor can I see that the contrast between Lutheranism and Calvinism to which he alludes can actually be discovered in historical fact. (I also cannot help noticing Professor Heimann's uneasiness toward his own thesis as it is suggested by his remarks in Section IV of his article.) The ideals of "unity and perfectibility" (as the ideals of the West) are as little Calvinist as they are Lutheran. Calvinism had little to do with their presence in the political mind of the "West" and Lutheranism had only a little to do with their absence from the German political mind.

The "gulf" between Germany and the West became apparent in world-politics during the nineteenth century; it was tragically disclosed during the World War; and it has assumed catastrophic proportions since the rise of National Socialism to world influence. In all important respects, it is a phenomenon of *modern* civilization and political history.

The roots of modern civilization lie in the Enlightenment. It is there that we must look for an understanding of the conflict between Germany and the West. It can then be shown that the difference between the spirit of Germany and the spirit of the "West" is not primarily religious, but philosophical; i.e., grounded in a conflict of world views. These world views cannot be wholly explained without reference to the contribution of the Christian churches (that Germany was "shaped" by Lutheranism and the West *not*, must therefore be regarded as important); but, in the last resort, they are intelligible only on the basis of the different reactions of the German and Western civilizations to the accomplishment of the emancipation of man, the rational being, from the "supernatural" authorities of medieval culture. The ideas of German Romanticism, seen against the background of the Enlightenment and German Classicism, will then be found to represent the main roots of the modern German spirit and as such also the key to the understanding of the difference between Germany and the West. I have no space here to expound this thesis in detail. It has been excellently done by Ernst Troeltsch in the lectures delivered in 1922 under the title: *Naturrecht und Humanitaet in der Weltpolitik* (published in the posthumous collection of essays, *Deutscher Geist und West-europa* (!), Tuebingen: Mohr, 1925. Also translated by Ernest Barker, as an appendix to Otto Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500 to 1800*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1934.)

W. PAUCK.

III

Dr. Heimann's thesis is that the acquiescence of the Germans in the totalitarianism of Hitler is due to the Lutheran background of Northern Germany. "Lutheran ethics is that of unconditional loyalty to the authority which is or-

dained of God, to the total eclipse of the other doctrine that one has to obey God rather than man." In the argument with which this thesis is bolstered Lutherans in America do not recognize themselves. They recognize only the familiar logic of a Roman Catholic. The truth is that the difference between the political ideology of Germany and that of the now-called Western nations does not date from the sixteenth century but from the cultural revolution in the eighteenth century and a series of events in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The underlying philosophy of political totalitarianism comes from Machiavelli in Italy and Hegel in Germany. Hitlerism in particular was forced on Germany by the Versailles Treaty of 1918, and "the great gulf" which so many see today was not discerned before the World War. The ethics of Lutheranism had nothing to do with it.

Heimann's argument contains certain errors of fact and certain errors of deduction. It is not true, for example, that Lutheran ethics blacks out the doctrine that one has to obey God rather than man and so denies the right of revolt under any circumstances. The fundamental confession of Lutherans everywhere is the Augsburg Confession. Article XVI of that document closes with the words: "Christians, therefore, must necessarily obey their magistrates and laws, save only when they command to sin; for then they must obey God rather than man." This has never been a dead letter among Lutherans. In fact, it was the judgment of Lord Acton that, "with all the intensity of his passion for authority, (Luther) did more than any other man to make modern history the development of revolution." Luther often wrote on the subject of civil authority and how far obedience is due to it. He did believe in reform according to constitutional principles. He certainly did not counsel blind submission under all circumstances. His ideas have been set forth by writers like Professor Dunning and President Haas, and it is simply contrary to fact that in Luther's ethics "revolt is never admitted as a remedy to injustice and sufferings because it threatens the divinely ordained power." The acquiescence of the German people, if real, must have some other basis in fact.

Again, it is not true that the ethics of Lutheranism are incompatible with democracy and could never have called forth a Bill of Rights. The author says that "these ethical requirements are purely personal, incapable of being incorporated in institutions and systematized in principles of political action." It must be admitted that if we allow the distinction between "private morality and public morality" or personal morality and political morality, Lutheran ethics lays more emphasis on private and personal morality. It insists upon the separation of church and state. But right there is one of the roots of all modern democracy. As Laski points out in his *Authority in the Modern State*, there could never have been a modern state and no Bill of Rights could have been conceived without the Reformation of the sixteenth century. That great religious struggle was necessary to break up the stolid frigidity of the mediaeval

totalitarian church-state, "the notion of a single and universal authority commensurate with the bounds of social life." That struggle carried at its heart Luther's twin principles of the right of private judgment and the priesthood of all believers. These principles are the practical corollaries of his central experience of justification by personal commitment alone. What more democratic principles have ever been enunciated? How could there ever be a Bill of Rights without them? And which of all the Reformers in the sixteenth century showed most interest in the common people?

Once more, it is not accurate to speak of "Lutheran insistence on the abject absoluteness of sin," to charge that Luther's whole outlook upon life was colored by his conception of the reality and universality of human sinfulness, and then to claim that the acquiescence of the Germans in Hitler's amoral authoritarianism is due to Lutheran belief in "a fundamentally unjust world." It is true that Luther and his followers insist upon the terrible reality of sin, and they would never assent to the Catholic teaching, according to Heimann, that "there are steps and degrees of human virtue, and much human weakness is smilingly forgiven." But to complete the picture of the Lutheran outlook upon life one must add their conception of redemption provided by Christ. This, too, is a very real thing and puts joy into life. Luther and Lutherans are rarely charged with being advocates of gloom. They are usually accused of abusing the freedom of the Christian man. And since Dr. Heimann appeals to the testimony of tourists as to the difference between "chilly Protestant" countries and "cheerful Catholic" countries, it might be well to consult those who have toured the all-Lutheran countries of Scandinavia.

Finally, it is not correct to ascribe the totalitarianism and power politics of Germany to the doctrines of Lutheranism, because there are modern nations far more thoroughly Lutheran than Germany where democracy has prevailed. Dr. Heimann's theory, as he himself points out, is seriously embarrassed by the facts in the Scandinavian lands, "the best functioning democracies in the world." He sees the difficulty and labors with it, but in the end he finds only a "Scandinavian deflection from the original Lutheran type." But his failure to account for the deflection is absolutely fatal to his entire theory. Perhaps we shall be asked to believe that the Fascism of Italy is just a "deflection" from the pure democracy of Roman Catholicism. No wonder Dr. Heimann tells us that "more important than all historical evidence is the doctrinal position."

No, the Nazism of Germany cannot be traced to Lutheranism, as the real Lutherans of all lands, Germany included, clearly indicate. It would be just as easy to say that it is traceable to Catholicism, because Hitler's background is Catholic, because he got his first foothold in Catholic South Germany, because Catholics hold to totalitarianism in their church polity, because the democracy-smashing chancellors in modern Germany were Catholics, and so

forth. It would be just as easy to trace Nazism to the Calvinists, because they are the ones who have really emphasized the total depravity of man, have set up theocracies, have led to chilly Puritanism, have dominated much of Prussian politics, and so forth. But the truth is that the forces which have produced National Socialism do not lie in such remote backgrounds. One need not go further back than the outbreak of Prussian self-consciousness the middle of the eighteenth century, the philosophy of Hegel, Fichte, Paul de Lagarde, and Rosenberg, and the political events from 1870 to 1918.

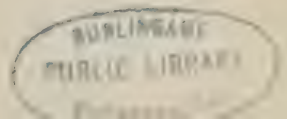
Nazism is not traceable to any religious body of doctrine. Dr. Heimann is correct in labeling it "frank heathenism" and in pointing out that German Protestants "are prevented from becoming Nazis by their fear of God, by their consciousness of sin, and by the rigor of ethical requirements that flow from them." But he should have read Karl Holl and Werner Elert as assiduously as he seems to have read Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber. Then it would be clear that Calvinism ministers to national groups, that Catholicism ministers to an ecclesiastical group, that socialism (in its various forms) ministers to social groups, and that Lutheranism is ecumenical in its implications because "personal morality" is the measure of all things, the most timeless and universal element on earth. In the last analysis personal morality is the only cure either for the amoral "ruthlessness" of Germany's power politics or the selfish "hypocrisy" of the now-called West. Fortunately it is by no means limited to Lutherans or Lutheranism, either in objective or in practice.

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ.

IV

The purpose of my discussion is to deal with Dr. Heimann's thesis from the Scandinavian point of view. To what extent is Lutheran theology the cause of the rise of Nazism? The article treats Lutheranism both as a *causa deficiens* and a *causa efficiens*, as responsible for Nazism both by its failure organically to connect personal and social morality and by its stress on obedience to earthly authority as ordained by God. In the light of Scandinavian history, the *causa deficiens* must naturally be the more important. This is brought out in Dr. Heimann's indication that Lutheran theology directly made possible, but only indirectly prepared for Nazism. If this is so, the history of Scandinavia presents no objection to his position.

Dr. Heimann unnecessarily goes further, however, and differentiates between the Scandinavian and the German Churches as "spiritually different" on the grounds that they fell "into different historical combinations." Even though there is some truth, of course, in this claim, the differentiation is highly dangerous. To assert that whereas the German Church has helped foster Machiavellianism, the Scandinavian has been centrally concerned with human "unity and perfectibility" is to draw too sharp a distinction. In both



cases the socially minded Lutherans have been the exception. Germany has had some, and, on the other hand, the Scandinavian Churches have been characteristically Lutheran, deeply quietistic, nationalistic, deeply conservative, with strong respect for governmental authority, and definitely distrustful of all movements toward drastic social reform. It must not be forgotten (since Dr. Heimann singles out the Swedish Church by his reference to Söderblom) that Söderblom was appointed archbishop by a liberal element in the government only as a poor third choice of the Church; that the famous Sigtuna foundation for social advance has never been close to the Church as a whole; that social prophets like Beskow are highly exceptional. The fact is that the conservative bulk of the Swedish Church has been on almost hostile terms with most progressive mass-movements toward social reform. The difference between Scandinavian and German political governments cannot, therefore, be attributed to difference in Lutheranism.

Since some of the strongest opposition Hitler has faced, moreover, has come from German Lutheranism, the real question must be whether the Scandinavian Churches, if in the same circumstances, would have given stronger opposition. The present writer fears that they would not. He thinks that the Church in the West might, and to that extent Dr. Heimann's thesis is correct; yet unmistakably, of late, even Western churchmen are rallying to identify their imperialistic capitalism with the only chance for Christianity. German Lutheranism is justly blamed for other-worldliness, but the church in the West is hardly more influential because of its world-conformity.

Dr. Heimann's article is somewhat an over-simplification in that it seems not to be grounded in an adequate philosophy of history. The Lutheran doctrine of the state contains a vital truth. The normal expression of Christian love is aided by a preservative order of society. On one level of history God works through it. *Nomos* must be seen in the light of *agape* as well as of *eros*. History shows two tendencies: the push of progress and the pull of purpose. Beyond the conscious planning of man, through technological progress, through better media of fellowship, man's extensive modes of togetherness have grown to suggest and make possible deeper intensive relations. On the other hand, particularly through the Incarnation and the Christian Church, the intensive modes of man's fellowship have grown. The push of man's needs and the pull of God's love have thus worked together to achieve his ends. These men can delay and thwart, but even through man's wrath God works his praise. In general, the push of progress is creation, while the pull of purpose is redemption. Dr. Heimann's view of Hitler as God's punishment of the Christians is too simple. The ecumenical conferences of the Church have groped for the larger issues underlying our present world of rapid and drastic change, and have recognized in even the totalitarian movements history's attempt to remedy certain evils in our own order. Dr. Heimann does not at all

indicate that, in spite of all the evils of Hitlerism from the redemptive point of view, from the creative point of view, nevertheless, that is, as seen in the push of progress, Nazism represents the following gains: (1) it represents a larger loyalty than liberalism's self-centered individualism with its often irresponsible use of the world freedom; (2) it represents the extension of man's togetherness; when the European nations did not heed the pull of God's purpose, their unification, the extension of man's modes of togetherness, had to come through the force which often is an aspect of the push of progress; (3) it stands for the mass-movements which our competitive capitalism has refused to reckon with as the meaning of history at this juncture; (4) it thus heralds a new economic order which the church must begin to understand and work within. But the church is by its very nature a redemptive agency and must therefore not only withstand the evils of totalitarianism but continually work for world transformation. The article, therefore, challenges not only German Lutheranism but also and especially the church in America which now stands on the threshold of its first real test.

NELS F. S. FERRÉ.

V

Dr. Heimann puts forward his able and challenging analysis so modestly that the fact of its grave importance only gradually dawns upon the reader. Its importance lies in the implication that if we are to accept the author's views without modification, we must despair of Lutheranism as having any positive relation, actual or possible, to social betterment. My own reaction is that of one who is impressed but not convinced.

With his first section I am in substantial agreement. Yet "the absence of any liberal tradition in German political life" is hardly so complete as it is represented. German liberals had a good deal in seventeenth century thought (one naturally recalls Leibniz and Thomasius) from which to take courage; and even Frederick the Great—for example, in his abolition of torture in legal processes—felt something of the humane spirit of liberalism. But it is true that strictly political liberalism never gained momentum, and the Weimar Republic lacked the support of deeply held conviction. The reference in this section to the League of Nations I think justified. The League was sabotaged; we need not here distribute the blame. Thereby our generation lost its precious opportunity for world organization by consent, and the field was left to those who would undertake to organize the world by conquest.

To comment helpfully upon Dr. Heimann's view of the vigorous survival of feudal and monarchical ideas in industrial Germany would require a specialized knowledge which I do not possess. I am only surprised that he has not felt it necessary to consider the revolutionary leaven of Marxism in this connection.

Our author reaches his main thesis in his third section. I cannot assent to the view that Lutheranism involved the "total eclipse" of the doctrine "that one has to obey God rather than man." Nor do I agree that "the rampant ignorance among liberals in this country . . . makes of Lutheranism a liberal movement conceived in the interests of the rising bourgeoisie." Perhaps it is due to my own rampant ignorance that I am not familiar with this view of Lutheranism. Surely nobody more vigorously than Luther assailed the abuses of rising capitalism. It is to be admitted that no Bill of Rights arose in the environment of German Lutheranism. But one must not overlook such incidents as the revolt of Lutheran Magdeburg against the Emperor after the *Interim* of 1548, the defense of the right of resistance in a flood of Lutheran pamphlets in that connection, and the *Confession, Instruction and Admonition* put forth by Luther's friend Amsdorf and other Magdeburg ministers (1550), to which possibly Knox, and certainly Beza, was indebted for suggestions toward a doctrine of resistance.

In his fourth section Dr. Heimann makes a generous concession. In view of the Scandinavian divergence from the Lutheran type he admits that "even a force as strong as the Lutheran faith means different things when it falls into different historical combinations." May we not say that Calvinism became a force in the development of constitutional government partly because it arose largely in politically hostile environments in which for its very survival it required a philosophy of resistance? "Partly" only; for Calvin from the first, even before his conversion, loathed tyranny. It would be easy to cite chapter and verse to show that Luther loathed it too; but he did not make the practical means of overcoming it his problem as did the sons of Calvin. No doubt Luther's conception of the state as established in restraint of sin is a factor in the case; but Luther also presents to the state large programs of beneficent activity. Perhaps we should lament in Luther, not so much the defect so strongly stated by Dr. Heimann, as the unsystematic and casual way in which the Reformer made his political utterances. Calvinists received surer and more consistent political guidance than their Lutheran brethren. Yet I feel strongly that there are in Lutheranism unemployed resources for social regeneration. Let the Magdeburg *Bekenttnis* and the "Scandinavians" convince us that there is something to hope for in the Lutherans, even of Germany, beyond mere acquiescence in "amoral authoritarianism." Let us remind ourselves, too, that Hitler's "yes-men" are not all Lutherans.

JOHN T. McNEILL.

VI

Although I think that Dr. Heimann's general thesis about the contribution of Lutheran ethics to German authoritarianism is right, I don't agree with him in his high estimation of the Catholic ideals as contributory to democracy. I

wish to draw attention to the fact that modern political totalitarianism was born and developed in countries where a Catholic church totalitarianism had first subjugated the people and no individual freedom was taught. This is true of Italy, Russia and lately of Spain. (France may be a new example.) It must also be remembered that Nazism did not rise and grow on Protestant soil in Germany but in some of the Catholic strongholds, Munich and Bavaria generally. And the Fuehrer came out of the strict Austrian Catholicism. Several outstanding Nazi leaders, such as Dr. Goebbels and Himmler likewise were Catholics. Thus it was not within German Lutheranism that the Nazi movement first grew to power, but in Catholic parts of the country. The strong Catholic opposition against Nazism does not at all rest on liberal ideals of individual freedom and the rights of conscience but in the demands for church totalitarianism in ethics (including social and political questions), education and home life. The Catholic contribution to authoritarianism is certainly greater than that of Lutheranism. The latter was in its main principles an enemy against the clerical totalitarianism of the Catholic Church.

This seems to be evidence against Dr. Heimann's contrast between Catholic contributions to democracy and Lutheran submission under authoritarianism.

As to the latter, however, I think he is mainly right, although I think that the school of Max Weber has overworked the simplification of differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism. I admit, however, that there is evidence for Dr. Heimann's thesis of the Lutheran submission to Machiavellism in the fact that during the elections of 1932, which preceded Hitler's coming into power, the North and Northeastern parts of Germany (i.e., the Lutheran) accepted Hitler with a far greater majority than other parts of the country. But this certainly did not mean a real acceptance of Nazism as such, but of authoritarianism, under which they had earlier accepted the Kaiser.

GUNNAR WESTIN.

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN AN UNCERTAIN WORLD

The Staff Carries on from Geneva. In spite of great curtailment in the freedom of movement and communication, the latest news (the middle of August) is that the General Secretary, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, and a skeleton staff will continue to "keep the light burning" from Geneva unless and until "all doors are closed." Dr. 't Hooft feels that there is "a sporting chance that we can continue a good many of our activities here." The American Section of the World Council has taken on the task of relaying to Geneva Christian news from countries in communication with the United States but not with Switzerland, and of continuing the *International Christian Press and Information Service* to the American constituency and countries of the Orient.

Six Months of Service by the Provisional Committee. In spite of the war, the report of the Provisional Committee for the first half of 1940 shows that the ecumenical movement has been able to carry forward some of its main functions.

It is obviously too early to attempt to reach any judgment as to the long-term affect of the war upon the movement. As yet, however, no contacts which the Provisional Committee maintained before the war have been entirely broken off. Obviously the churches of many countries cannot play their normal role in the movement; but even with them contact has been maintained through various channels.

Still more significant is the fact that in countries involved in war, persons who have been connected with the ecumenical movement, with strikingly few exceptions, have made sincere attempts to implement their faith in the universality of the Church of Christ, both by word and act. The degree to which the prayer life of the churches has fulfilled the promise of the Oxford statement about the prayer of the church in wartime, is evidenced by Dr. 't Hooft's summary entitled "Is the Church the Church in Wartime?" Plans and discussions which have appeared in recent issue of CHRISTENDOM witness to the continued activity of the study departments both in the Life and Work and Faith and Order streams.

Plans for meetings and for publication have been necessarily curtailed. The work of relief to non-Aryan refugees and prisoners of war has continued, but their future is extremely uncertain in view of the colossal nature of the tragedy which has befallen areas and populations of undreamed magnitude.

Youth work following up the Amsterdam Conference has been carried forward with great spiritual fruitfulness. Dr. 't Hooft concludes his report thus:

This report is written at a moment when the very foundations of our civilization are shaking and when all human certainties are being proved to be vain. No one knows whether it will be possible to continue the kind of ecumenical work which we have set out to do together. No one knows whether it will be possible to keep up communications as between one region of Church life and another. No one knows whether the World Council of Churches will actually come into existence or not.

At such a time we can only fall back on the basic realities of our common faith. For the Ecumenical Movement that reality is, that the Lord of the Churches watches over His Church and that, in so far as we belong to Him, we belong together. Many of the organizational forms of our work may be taken away from us, we may have difficulty in keeping in contact with each other, but that reality cannot be taken away.

Additional Churches Join the World Council. The most important of the recent accessions to the ranks of member churches is the Church of England whose Assembly voted by a large majority to accept the invitation to join. The Swiss Protestant Church Federation also accepted membership.

On the other hand, the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in Great Britain declined membership, though asserting its desire to remain in the full-est possible fellowship.

The acceptance of the Swiss churches was with the reservation that the membership basis set forth in the constitution of the World Council does not "imply any change in the existing confessional status of the Swiss churches." The British Friends apparently found an insuperable obstacle in the "verbal basis" of membership, although important groups of American Friends had already joined the Council.

Dr. 't Hooft comments as follows upon the difficulties raised :

The discussions about the Basis in different countries have shown that there is still considerable misunderstanding about the origin of the World Council Basis. Although it has been made clear more than once that the Basis was freely adopted by the whole Utrecht Conference, it is still being said that this Basis was forced on the World Council by the Faith and Order Movement, and that thus the "Movement of Stockholm" has been "absorbed" by the "Movement of Lausanne." At the same time it is not yet clear to many that the Basis is meant as a Biblical Basis and not as a new theological invention. These points should then be made clear whenever and wherever the occasion arises.

COMMUNICATION AND CONTACTS

UNDER date of July 10th the following message came by cable with the request that it be made known to other lands now shut off from Great Britain as well as to the Churches on this Continent: "Council on Christian Faith and the Common Life (British official link with the World Council), representing chief non-Roman Christian communions of Great Britain, send our fellow Christians of other lands this message of fellowship in Christ. We grieve over separation which war causes. We deeply sympathize with those who are suffering in various ways and we look forward eagerly to the time when we may meet one another again and may all co-operate in work for world to which Christ has called us."

The Christian News-Letter. This organ of the British Council is a four-page weekly brilliantly edited by Dr. J. H. Oldham, which usually includes as an insert an article by some distinguished writer. In order that fellow Christians in lands cut off from Britain by war may taste the flavor of ecumenical Christianity in Britain under war stress, we offer the following quotations from recent issues:

"Parliament last week passed in less than three hours a bill which, as *The Times* said in a leading article 'comes near to suspending the very essence of the constitution as it has been built up in a thousand years.' The decision to introduce the measure is said to have been taken on the morning of the day in which it was enacted. It requires all persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of the King. The act responds to the wishes of the nation. In contrast with the selfish individualism of the past, it is a move towards a real community. The basis of a human society is an unreserved dedication of men to one another.

"But the surrender of our all for the safety and good of the country is, in

itself, only something which the Nazis already have. No power can continue to exist which is wholly evil, and the Nazi system is sustained by this element of good in it. The question which must concern us is how our own act of a free people can be distinguished from the Nazi system. We may give to the State as representing the community our lives and property when they are needed, but what we cannot give to any earthly authority is our loyalty to God. It is this distinction which we must keep vividly before our minds, since responsibility to God is the basis and buttress of all true liberty. In war the tension between the surrender of ourselves to our fellow men and the community for the love of God and obedience to God, who is Judge of the nation and all its acts, as the highest service we can render to our people is unceasing. Let us pray for one another." *May 29, 1940.*

"The strong, centralized State is here. Its policies and the whole temper of public life will be determined, as *The Tablet* said in a recent editorial, by the convictions of those who direct it and who are men before they are officials. As yet the centralized State in this country has no ideological character; those who hold the most diverse views about its purposes are united in a common effort to win the war. But when the war ends, the strong State will remain. The unprecedented powers which the modern State wields offer a strong temptation to the ambitious. If its policies are not inspired by Christian ideas, they will be determined by anti-Christian ideas. Of the greatness of the battle and of the vastness of the issues that are at stake, few as yet have any inkling. If Christian ideas are to triumph, we need a new clarity and strength of purpose, a new discipline, cohesion and tenacity in carrying it out; a transformation of the life of the Church as radical as that which is taking place in the nation." *June 12, 1940.*

"The second religious issue which we cannot escape today, since it compels us to the most momentous decisions, is whether God is concerned only with our eternal salvation or also with the historical struggles of men—only with the Church or also with civilization. I cannot doubt that the God whom we worship in Jesus Christ is also the Lord of history, and that the growing meanings which are built into the fabric of society and wrought into tradition, custom and institutions by the toil and sacrifice of successive generations are part of His plan for human life.

"It does not follow, even if we believe this, that because the British Commonwealth seems to us to embody a higher conception of life than the tyrannies we are fighting, God *must* give us victory. The religious mind has known that life does not offer such simple and clear solutions of its problems. The righteous, even if they *are* righteous, do not always triumph. That God's ways are not our ways is the first lesson of religion.

"We cannot, therefore, on religious grounds take success for granted. We

can only offer ourselves to God to be the instrument of His purposes. Deeper than the prayer for victory must be the prayer that we may be made worthy of it. "*Deserve* victory" must be our battle-cry. From that standpoint let us consider the issues at stake, so far as our finite minds can comprehend them." *July 3, 1940.*

"Between this country and the dictatorships there is one vital difference. Evil has not yet among us enthroned itself in the seat of power. The forces of death have not yet got a stranglehold on the national life. The field is still free for the forces of life to wrestle with them and overcome them; to make the social order the instrument of life and not of death. The possibility is still ours that Britain might save herself by her exertions and the world by her example. That possibility has to be preserved at all costs not for ourselves alone but for the sake of the French, against whom we are now forced to fight, for the sake of the Germans, and for the sake of mankind as a whole.

"Since the end of man's being is to serve God, we can be whole-hearted in the nation's cause only if we believe that it is dedicated to the fulfilment of God's purposes. It is about this that there is a lurking doubt in the minds of many, even when it is not formulated in conscious thought. Only by dragging it into the open and frankly facing it can we achieve whole-heartedness. It is not enough to proclaim ideals that have had a partial realization in our past history. Men are moved not by abstract ideas but by ideas that have captured the will and are being actually lived. That is the issue which is sharply raised in this week's supplement.

"What is the Britain for which we are fighting? Is it the largely selfish and sluggish society we had become, the Britain of materialistic aims and unfair privilege and social injustice? Or is it a Britain that has found its soul in a dedication to a saving vision of a society in which human values come always first and the dominant aim is that every member of it should have the chance of fulfilling the purpose of his existence as a son of God?

"Can we achieve that simple clarity of purpose? Will there arise a body of people with sufficient disinterestedness, intelligence and resolution to translate that aim into the concrete terms of political and social organization and activity? Can we during the war itself give proof of our faith and determination by here and now taking decisive action in that direction? We must, if the nation is to hold together. Nothing is powerful enough to prevail against Nazism or Communism that is not as revolutionary and passionate as they are.

"Through the tribulation of this time something is struggling to the birth. It is something that has significance not for ourselves alone but for mankind as a whole. But it is among us that it might be born. It is already present in germ and promise in our heritage. But it is only by its becoming actual—by its taking shape as a conscious and resolute social purpose—that we can attain

to the whole-heartedness, without which we may not be strong enough to win the war and assuredly will lack the strength to win the future after the war.

"If this were to come about the whole situation would be transformed. To win the war would become in our thought wholly secondary to a larger purpose—and for that reason all the more necessary. This ultimate spiritual aim would determine both our conduct of the war and the terms on which, if victory is ours, we would end it." *July 10, 1940.*

"What *are* the 'ideas' for which we want as crusaders to conquer the world? That is the question on which all hinges and to which in the News-Letter we are seeking the answer. We do not want an easy answer, but one that when it is given us will have revolutionary power. Elements of the answer are already present, but no formulation as yet commands the assent of more than a limited circle. It may be that before very long, out of the experiences through which we are passing in common, something will be precipitated which will be found to represent the common conviction of a large body of people about what is essential—the things for which they are ready to live, work, sacrifice and, if need be, die. A great simplicity and clarity of vision is needed to move the nation. This, if we are faithful and expectant, it may please God to give us when the moment is ripe.

"The challenge of what we (as a people) are *not* and do not wish to be, may be the means of making clear to us what it is that we *must* be, if there is to be a community of free men bound to one another in mutual loyalty and trust.

"The greatest crime of Nazism—worse than its cruelties, persecutions and inhumanities—is that it has poisoned and corrupted the mind of youth and by the centralization of power destroyed all independent centers of social cohesion. The same disintegrating process is going on in the occupied countries. Man is being set against man, group against group. The seeds of mistrust, suspicion and hatred are being sown. If we win the war, it will be a morally and socially disintegrated Europe with which we shall have to deal. The process of moral recovery may take a generation, perhaps generations.

"If there is to be an international order in the future it will have to be created not in blue-prints or in the field of organization, but in the sphere of *life*. There must be a living example of a nation successfully ordering its life in accordance with the standards and values which are denied and repudiated by the false systems now in the ascendant in Europe. To furnish that example is the high mission to which this nation is called. But the nation has not yet apprehended its meaning and for that reason is not yet dedicated to its accomplishment. All hope for the future lies in seeing and obeying that vision. Opposed to us is a deified nation; it can be successfully withstood only by a dedicated nation." *July 17, 1940.*

When Human Contacts are Broken. The following is taken from the edi-

torial in the June *News Sheet* of the *World's Student Christian Federation*:

"A little more than a year ago in an Eastern country, which is under the control of an alien power, a student leader said to me, 'Much understanding in these days must be built up on silence.' . . . Can we, who talk so easily, who argue with such relish, who love to frame protests, and make our positions clear—can we, shallow creatures of a superficial academic world, can we use silence? Without international conferences, without correspondence, without news in our magazine columns can we still build understanding? Let us thank God that the most creative thing we can do, can best be done in silence. Are we prepared to build up understanding by our prayers?"

"It is just here that we are challenged as never before. Here are our isolated friends who are losing heart perhaps, and wondering if we remember them. Here are our friends in the heat of the battle, in the temptation of the camp, relying upon our help as never before. We must not betray our friends, we must not 'sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for them.'

"Have we thought of failure to pray for our friends as sin? It is not just a case of a careless omission; it is a case of not putting our faith in God to its real test. We say we believe in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . But do we take the trouble to relate that belief to the desperate need of men and women who have lost their country? . . . We may grow apart from one another in silence, or we may grow far closer in understanding. It may be good for us to lose some links, if we can learn to forge the strongest link of all in Christian prayer. . . ."

Catholics and Protestants Unite in Common Worship. The United Christian Press Service reports an occasion of worship on May 8th last in a German Dominican church, in which the choir stalls before the high altar were filled by united choirs; the organ was played by a Protestant pastor, and both Catholic and Protestant hymns were sung including a hymn by Luther. Catholic priests read the Scriptures and gave the address, followed by representatives of Protestant organizations. The final prayer and benediction were by a Protestant pastor. The Lord's Prayer and the Doxology were recited by the entire congregation together.

Discussion groups seeking better knowledge of one another on the part of the two communions were reported from several places in Germany and something like a spiritual rapprochement under the stress of war conditions, but based upon long continued concern for Christian unity, seems to have appeared.

When will it be possible for American Catholics and Protestants as individuals to engage in corporate worship together?

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